DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 396 984 SO 026 542

AUTHOR Sandler, Bernice Resnick; And Others
TITLE The Chilly Classroom Climate: A Guide To Improve the Education of Women.
INSTITUTION National Association for Women in Education, Washington, DC.
SPONS AGENCY Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education (ED), Washington, DC.; Lilly Endowment, Inc., Indianapolis, Ind.
PUB DATE 96
CONTRACT P116B41896-94
NOTE 134p.
AVAILABLE FROM National Association for Women in Education, 1325 18th Street NW, Suite 210, Washington, DC 20036-65111 (NAWE members $15; nonmembers $20).
PUB TYPE Reports - Descriptive (141)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Classroom Environment; Coeducation; Elementary Secondary Education; Equal Education; Females; Higher Education; *Sex Bias; *Sex Discrimination; Sexual Harassment; Social Attitudes; Social Bias; Teacher Attitudes; *Womens Education; *Womens Studies

ABSTRACT

This report assesses how the classroom climate is affected by classroom structure, power dynamics within the classroom, different pedagogical styles, the curriculum, and the relationships between male and female students. Data come from quantitative and qualitative studies in classrooms at all levels and in related settings, along with surveys, interviews, and numerous other data-gathering approaches. The report is presented in five parts. Part 1, "How the Classroom Experience is Different for Women and Men," describes and analyzes how teacher and student behavior create a different experience for men and women students. Part 2, "Pedagogy and the Classroom," examines the impact of pedagogy on students, including collaborative learning and feminist pedagogy. Part 3, "Including Women in the Curriculum," explores the importance of the curriculum and ways to further integrate women into it. Part 4, "Gender and the Faculty Evaluation Process: Reward or Punishment?" explores the impact of teacher style and other factors on the evaluation of faculty members by students and colleagues. Part 5, "Where Do We Go From Here: Recommendations for Making the Classroom More Equitable for Everyone," contains recommendations for institutions, faculty members, and students for improving the learning climate. The volume concludes with two appendices: "Evaluating Your Course for Inclusion of Scholarship on Women," and "Questions for Faculty Members: Examining Your Class for Inadvertent Bias." Contains endnotes, resources, and an evaluation form. (EH)

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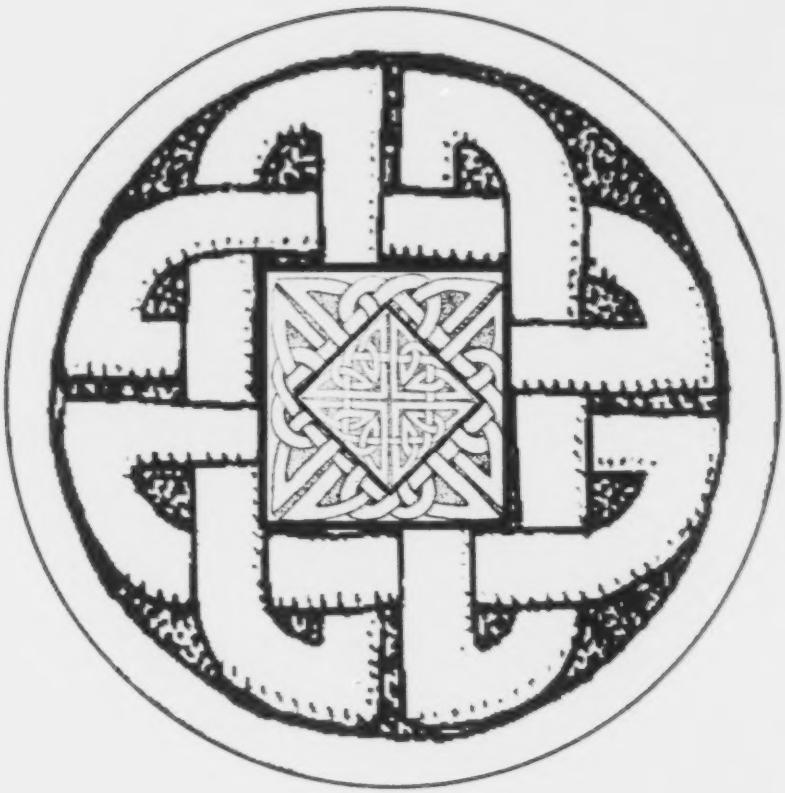

The Chilly Classroom Climate

A Guide to Improve the Education of Women

BERNICE RESNICK SANDLER • LISA A. SILVERBERG • ROBERTA M. HALL

PUBLISHED BY THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR WOMEN IN EDUCATION

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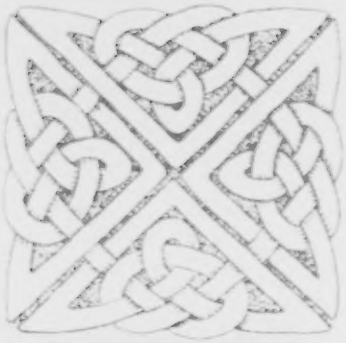


Acknowledgements

This report would not have been possible without the generous funding provided by the Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education of the U. S. Department of Education (Grant No. P116B41896-94) and by the Lilly Endowment, Inc. (Grant No. 930086).

David Johnson, our project director from FIPSE, and Ralph Lundgren, Vice President for Education at Lilly, provided more than financial support. At difficult times, they provided advice and assistance which made it possible for us to continue. Both displayed enormous patience with the authors and several delays. David Johnson was also especially helpful in seeing that we negotiated the federal bureaucracy successfully.

Patricia Rueckel, former executive director of the National Association for Women in Education, provided the authors with an exceptionally supportive environment for the development of this report. Her successor, Lynn Gangone, has done the same and has been very helpful in planning the completion and dissemination of the report. Carole Walega and Sharon Winkler, also of NAWE, deserve thanks for performing many of the tasks of managing a project that are essential but often unseen.

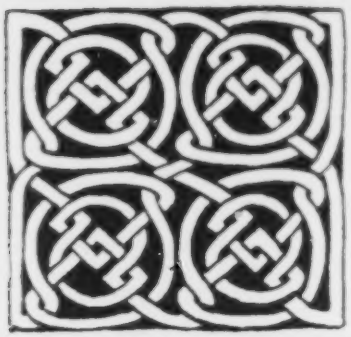
Four people were central in shaping the direction of this report and giving support, encouragement, direction, and substantive help throughout. Denise Strong of the University of New Orleans; Cheris Kramarae of the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign; Catherine Krupnick of the Graduate School of Education, Harvard University; and Caryn McTighe Musil of the Association of American Colleges and Universities, served as our advisory committee. They deserve credit for having provided us with consistency and clarity and for saving us from many minor errors. Each read the manuscript and gave us many useful and thoughtful suggestions. Susan Basow of Lafayette College helped us shape the section on faculty evaluation.

Our thanks go to Patricia Farrant, Assistant Vice President at American College Testing and Editor of NAWE's award-winning journal, *Initiatives*, whose contribution as editor has been much greater than that title suggests. She took the disparate pieces of our writing and made a coherent whole out of them, adding substantive information, eliminating redundancies, raising questions that needed answers, and giving us enormously helpful advice and feedback about how to improve the report.

All three authors thank their families for their support and encouragement.

Last but not least, this report was shaped by hundreds of conversations over many years with students, former students, faculty members, and others who provided insights and information about the classroom, how it operates, and what would improve it. To those unseen and often unknown contributors, our deepest thanks.

Without them, this report would never have been written.



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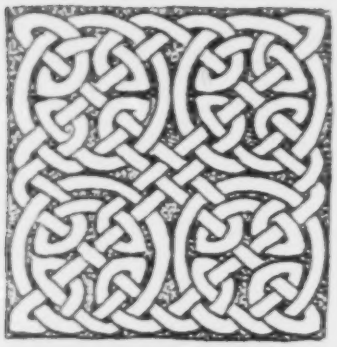

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Introduction

The reports and thinking about women students' negative experiences [in the classroom] are often hidden from the mainstream of academe; they are found in feminist journals and conferences, and occasionally in federal reports and publications. Thus they are isolated and often not included in analyses of educational theory, practice and pedagogy.[1]

Our work is prompted by continuing reports from female university students suggesting not only that their classroom experiences are different from males' but also that their experiences are often unsatisfactory in ways that are not recognized by most university teachers and critics of educational policy.[2]

...the emotional climate of the classroom is directly related to the attainment of academic excellence, however defined. Students' feelings about what they experience in class—whether of inclusion or exclusion, mastery or inadequacy, support or hostility—cannot be divorced from what and how well they learn.[3]

In 1982, Roberta M. Hall and Bernice R. Sandler wrote the first comprehensive report on how women are often treated differently than men in the classroom. They coined the term "chilly climate" to described the myriad small inequities that by themselves seem unimportant, but taken together create a chilling environment.

The 1982 report, *The Classroom Climate: A Chilly One for Women?*,[4] was widely distributed and discussed; more than 50,000 copies have been sold and otherwise disseminated. Many schools distributed the paper to their faculty, held workshops and seminars, and made efforts to "warm up the climate." Indeed the term "chilly climate" has entered the higher education lexicon to describe the subtle ambiance in which many small inequities can create a negative atmosphere for learning, for teaching, and for fulfilling professional roles on campus.

The original climate report documented some 30 ways in which faculty members often treated women students differently in the classroom. Since the publication of that report, a growing body of additional research on the effect of gender in the classroom has been conducted in a wide range of fields such as sociology, communication, linguistics, faculty development, teaching, and learning. New strategies to address the issue of climate have been developed for institutions and for individual faculty members.

It has become increasingly clear that merely reducing the ways in which women and men students are treated differently neither automatically nor immediately increases women students' active participation in the classroom. Yet participation is essential to learning; stu-

dents who actively participate learn more and are more satisfied with the educational process. This report reviews some of the findings of the past decade and presents an overview of some of the ways gender interacts with other factors in the classroom: teacher behavior, differential behaviors of men and women, the intersection of race and gender, the structure of the classroom itself, curriculum content, and pedagogical style. It describes strategies for individual teachers and institutions.

One of the changes that have occurred over the years is that there is a greater understanding of the complexities of women's experiences and the recognition that theories of gender do not always apply to *all* women. Increasingly, theorists are paying attention to the intersection of gender not only with race and ethnicity but with factors such as age, class, disabilities, religion, sexual orientation, and rural/urban differences.

Because issues of gender, race, and ethnicity must be addressed simultaneously, we have both incorporated our understanding of these intersections throughout the report and included a separate section on why "differences" matter. Unfortunately, most research examining classroom behavior and behavior differences, including those related to gender, has been conducted in white, middle-class environments. Often, cultural and racial differences are not acknowledged, although there is some research on the interactions of white faculty with students of color. Clearly, more research is needed to examine the interactions of gender, race, class, age, sexual orientation, and disability in the classroom.

The problems faculty members face in promoting teaching strategies to improve the classroom climate cannot be addressed without also examining how climate issues affect the written and unwritten criteria for faculty evaluation. There is much research (see Part II) suggesting that students in general, and particularly women,

WHAT DO WE CALL WOMEN?

We have struggled with terminology. What is it we shall call *all* women? When the word "women" is used by itself, many people, especially middle-class whites, unknowingly think only of white middle-class women, not of poor women, "non-white women," older women, women from other groups. We considered many variations, all of which present some limitations:

- women, including minority women
- women, including women of color
- white women and women of color
- women of color and white women
- women of all diverse groups
- white women and women of different races and ethnicities
- majority women and minority women
- women of color and non-white women

We have sought inclusive terminology that would allow us to make it clear that when we refer to women, we mean *all* women, whatever their race, color, ethnicity, class, and other diverse groupings. We have used different terms somewhat arbitrarily. There is no uniform agreement in the literature or among different groups, perhaps because our perceptions of the different groups of women are shifting as we come to recognize both the diversity of women and the importance and power of the words used to describe them.

We decided to use mainly the phrase women of color. We do this not to identify white women as central and devoid of color, but as Johnnella Butler describes, to acknowledge "similarity in historical experiences and position in relation to the White American....the phrase *and* the concept *women of color* implies the race and ethnicity of White *women*, for whom the word women wrongly indicates a norm for all women or wrongly excludes other women." [5]

We found no satisfactory way to refer to all women, nor could we identify a term to cover *all* women *and* men of color that would acknowledge those similarities in the ways in which women and people of color are treated.

Whenever we use the term "women," we are referring to *all* women, recognizing that the experiences of women from diverse groups are often different.

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may benefit from a participatory, collaborative approach in which the faculty member serves as both facilitator and active learner in the group and as "traditional" teacher who imparts knowledge. However, the research also shows that collaborative teaching techniques, especially when used by women, may be devalued when faculty members are being assessed for promotion and tenure (see Part IV). This report addresses some of the issues associated with gender bias in the evaluation of women faculty, whether the evaluations are made by students or by colleagues.

HOW WE GATHERED INFORMATION

In developing this report, we examined quantitative and qualitative studies conducted in classrooms at all levels and in related settings; observational data; surveys; interviews; conference proceedings; institutional publications; research in fields such as linguistics, communication, sociology, education, and women's studies. We also analyzed videos, electronic mail discussions of the chilly climate, anecdotal information, and reports from campus commissions and committees on the status of women describing students' experiences. Like our previous work, this report draws on a variety of sources and is both informed and confirmed by the quantitative and qualitative work of others.

Our earlier reports focused heavily on particular teacher behaviors, for these behaviors establish the context for a chilly climate. In this report, we reexamine faculty member behaviors but also examine how the classroom climate is affected by classroom structure, power dynamics within the classroom, different pedagogical styles, the curriculum, and the relationships between male and female students. We also briefly explore the relationship between the faculty evaluation process and the classroom climate. Although detailed, our report is more illustrative than exhaustive.

ASSUMPTIONS

Many variables affect what happens in a classroom. Certainly, students and faculty members come to postsecondary education with behaviors and attitudes learned earlier. Coupled with pedagogical style and the content of the curriculum, these behaviors are major factors influencing student experience. All are linked in ways that encourage some students to participate but inhibit others. Although this report focuses on women's participation in the college classroom, many of the behaviors we discuss may not only limit a woman's classroom participation but also deeply affect her self-esteem and her life outside the classroom—her educational and vocational aspirations—even if her participation itself is not affected.

The effect of gender on the classroom has received much attention since our first report appeared. We know, for example, that teacher gender may make a difference in student participation, although we may not always know why. For example, women students, perhaps because they are more comfortable with a woman faculty member, are likely to talk more in a class taught by a female, although they still do not talk as much as male students.[6]

We also know that both the perception and the evaluation of a person's skills and behaviors are influenced by gender.[7] And we know that students are often treated differently, according to their gender.

In writing this report, we have made a number of assumptions we want to make explicit, so our readers may better understand the context in which it has been written.

- We believe that teacher-student interactions are at the heart of learning and are determined by both the student and the teacher.

- We believe that teachers have the power to change teacher-student interactions and student-to-student interactions in the classroom.

• We believe that participation is an important component of learning and an important goal of teaching. We believe that although participation is generally better than silence, there are many other ways to participate in a classroom, such as by actively listening to others.

• We believe that education is a cooperative enterprise that works best when students are allowed to contribute to it and when teachers are responsive to students.

• We believe teacher-student interactions affect student participation, student learning, student self-esteem, and student satisfaction.

• We believe that faculty members—men and women alike—often unknowingly treat students differently, according to their gender, in ways that have negative consequences.

• We believe that the subtle differential treatment of women also happens to members of other "outsider" groups, such as students of color; disabled persons; older persons; working-class students; lesbian, gay, and bisexual students; and students who speak with a foreign or regional accent.

• We believe that both qualitative and quantitative research enriches our understanding of the effects of gender on the classroom, that neither is sufficient by itself to reveal the complexity of the classroom.

• We believe that, like gender, race and ethnicity are critical factors in teacher-student relations and affect students' classroom experiences.[8]

• We believe that gender affects not only women, that race and ethnicity affect not only people of color, and that men and whites are profoundly affected by their gender and race, although they are often unaware of the impact.

• We believe that gender, race, ethnicity, and class warrant attention, and that neglect of these factors may have strong negative impact on students.

• Although we believe that many of the teaching recommendations we include are at the heart of good teaching for all students, good teaching alone cannot eliminate the effects of gender or racial bias. Teachers must know how gender and race affect teaching and must work to eliminate gender and racial bias.

• We believe that although there are differences between men and women, there are also many similarities. Although most research, as well as social convention, focuses on the differences between men and women, it also confirms that no traits, no styles, no behaviors other than those linked to reproduction are limited only to one gender.

Our report deals with many generalizations and is subject to the typical criticisms of generalization. Certainly not all men behave in a certain way nor do all women. But women (or men) are often more likely than the other gender to behave in a particular way. Generalizations can help us understand some of the classroom behaviors of faculty members and students and how gender often (but not always and certainly not solely) shapes these behaviors.

WHO SHOULD READ THIS REPORT?

> ...as educators we have an obligation to understand the teaching/learning process well enough to improve it.[9]

This report does not target "transgressors;" it is aimed at people of good will who care about teaching. While some faculty members believe that sexism and its impact on women are "exaggerated" or "things of the past," sexism clearly is ingrained in our speech and behavior. Knowing the subtle ways in which sexism manifests itself can help us eliminate sexist discrimination.

The research we have consulted and the strategies we propose are useful tools for *all* faculty members who want to be effective and to maximize their students' learning. Faculty can take many steps to make the environment more hospitable for students, especially female students and students in nonmajority groups.

Climate research and strategies are not about "accommodating women." What guides this report is a vision of enhancing educational opportunities for women, for students of color, and for *all* learners, by examining and transforming what and how we teach.

Most faculty have little or no training in how to teach. Even among those who have some training, most have learned little or nothing of pedagogical strategies that address gender, race, ethnicity, class, age, sexual orientation, and disability. Many faculty are thus not as well prepared as they could be to teach in a setting that includes students of different genders, races, cultures, and backgrounds.[10]

Although most faculty members agree with the goals of gender equity, it is the rare professor, male or female, who deliberately develops strategies (other than "trying to be fair") to achieve these goals.[11] Rather than focusing solely on making their own behavior non-sexist, faculty members should also strive to be anti-sexist, working actively to eradicate sexism.[12]

The major aim of this report is to help faculty members deliberately engage in behaviors to achieve gender equity in the classroom. Commitment to good teaching is not enough—professors need expertise, resources, and training.[13] We hope this report provides a first step toward all three.

RESPONSE TO THE FIRST CLASSROOM CLIMATE REPORT

Our original climate report, *The Classroom Climate: A Chilly One for Women?* evoked extraordinary response, ranging from self-studies of institutional climate to development of campus and departmental programs and materials dealing with classroom climate. It stimulated discussion and research and was widely cited. Since its publication, much has been done to make classrooms more hospitable to all students, especially to white women and, to some degree, women of color.

Along with the favorable reception of the original report came some criticism, focusing on mainly two areas:

- Are there really differences in the classroom participation of women and men students?
- What factors most influence classroom participation?

Some researchers who conducted climate surveys at their own school found no differences in faculty behaviors toward men and women, and no sex differences on measures of student confidence in their preparation for graduate school or their careers. They concluded therefore that the chilly climate at their institution, and others, may not be as prominent as supposed or that certain types of institutions or programs within institutions are more likely to harbor such problems than others.[14]

A few found that factors such as field of study, class size, and time of semester were *more* influential on student classroom participation than sex of instructor or sex of student, and concluded that if teacher behavior does not influence student participation, then it is inappropriate to target faculty for intervention.[15]

These latter researchers who identified gender differences in student behavior but did not find these differences related to faculty behavior, suggest students "bring" such differences to the classroom.[16] Certainly women's classroom behavior has been shaped by years of cumulative experience which may discourage or inhibit their participation. We also concur that it may be a faculty member's *lack* of attention to gender, rather than overt discrimination, that further perpetuates gender differences in the classroom. Whether intentional or not, though, such inattention can have a detrimental effect on women.

The same researchers who propose that differences in male and female student behavior are not the result of differential treatment by instructors suggest it would be important to examine the extent to which male and female students evaluate, interpret, and experience similar teacher behaviors differently.[17] We agree—the same faculty behaviors may likely not be experienced the same way by men and women. It may be that more active steps are required to engage women in class discussion.

While we focus on behaviors that may inhibit women, we are not concerned with a single or ultimate cause of differential student behavior. We maintain, however, that faculty behavior is an appropriate mechanism to redress differential student experiences.

Even if they are not the immediate cause of a problem, faculty members can be instrumental in providing a solution. Faculty are more likely to successfully alter patterns of non-participation if they understand that different students experience the classroom differently, that students may excel in one environment but not in another, and that faculty who are skilled in a variety of teaching strategies are likely to reach a diversity of students. Whatever the reasons for women's less active participation in the classroom, faculty members can increase their involvement in many ways. This report offers many recommendations to help faculty members do so.

A final comment on method: Some have criticized the validity of the original report because it includes first-person accounts of student experiences, dismissing these voices as "exceptions" or "mere anecdotes,"[18] and claiming, for example, that "although case study approaches are vivid and useful for publicizing a problem, they are difficult to use as a basis for clear identification of the extent and location of discrimination."[19]

If there is "valid" evidence of the existence of a chilly climate, it must in part be in the words of students who experience it. We believe that there is validity to the broad and consistent trend in women's voiced experiences and to their documentation in anecdotes, observation, and other qualitative and quantitative measures. Thus, in this report, too, we include the voices that allow us to illustrate what quantitative research cannot. And, as in the first report, we also draw on results of quantitative research conducted in a number of settings, including classrooms.

This report is presented in five parts:

Part I describes and analyzes how teacher and student behavior create a different experience for men and women students.

Part II examines the impact of pedagogy on students, including collaborative learning and feminist pedagogy.

Part III explores the importance of the curriculum and ways to further integrate women into it.

Part IV explores the impact of teacher style and other factors on the evaluation of faculty members by students and colleagues.

Part V contains numerous recommendations for institutions, faculty members, and students for improving the learning climate.

PART I

HOW THE CLASSROOM EXPERIENCE IS DIFFERENT FOR WOMEN AND MEN

THE IMPORTANCE OF PARTICIPATION IN THE CLASSROOM

Society often does not see those who are voiceless.... We professors have a responsibility to pay attention to who is silent and who is not.... to consider why some students are silent and to examine our own role as teachers contributing to that silence.[1]

...We are all often complicit in the silencing of students.... The victims often silence themselves as well.[2]

...And it's interesting that if you don't just let the eager people who want to talk but you encourage other people, you get a whole different sort of classroom discussion going. (female student's comment)[3]

Most faculty value class participation and a large body of research confirms that it is valuable for many reasons, not the least of which is increased learning.[4] Yet in many classrooms, many—and in some instances—most students may not participate.[5] A number of studies conclude that as a group, women participate less than men. In one study, a striking 22 percent of women students (but only 9% of men) said they *want* to participate but *do not* "nearly every day."[6] Another study showed that women in women's colleges participated more in discussion at the end of the semester than at the beginning, but that at coeducational institutions, women's participation declined throughout the semester.[7]

It is not unusual for the same three, four, or five students (nearly always male) to continually participate while the rest of the class learns by watching the faculty member interact with them.[8] Male students are more likely to raise their hands quickly, even before the teacher has finished a question, and organize their answers *as* they respond. In contrast, some male and many female students who prefer to think out an answer *before* raising their hands often have little chance of being called on.[9]

Sadker and Sadker suggest that the average college classroom consists of three "classes": A small "class" of up to four students receives about 25 percent of the teacher's time and are sometimes known as the "star" students. The

second "class," the majority of students, typically receives one question per class. The third "class"—about 20 percent—consists of silent students who do not participate at all.[10] (In a class where the lecture is the primary mode of teaching, almost all students will be silent.)

THE ROLE OF FACULTY MEMBERS

Teacher behavior in the classroom is a key factor in increasing the participation of students, especially women and those men who participate very little or not at all. Women's participation may be more affected by teacher behavior than that of men. Kramarae and Treichler, who have extensively analyzed classroom dynamics, asked students what would make them more likely to participate more in class. Men were more likely to focus on themselves and talk about their own need for greater preparation; women felt less concern about their preparation and more concern about the teacher's behavior. They were more at ease with teachers who did not impose their views on others. They were more motivated to talk in order to support friends who had spoken; they liked spirited shared discussion.[11]

Teachers are generally tolerant of the status quo—students who are silent and students who dominate the classroom—and make little attempt to change the behavior of either group. Krupnick, an expert on classroom participation, points out how this approach affects the classroom:

> If instructors want to help women develop strong participatory skills, they need to be aware of the tendency for women to underparticipate when the classroom setting is primarily male. This is particularly important for instructors who teach sections and tutorials.... Both tutorials and sections have evolved out of the premise that engaging in discussion is an integral part of mastering the vocabulary and thought processes of a discipline. In an ideal world, students' gender would bear no relationship to their likelihood of participation. Women in a group would generally talk in proportion to their numbers in that group, and so would men. Every student would have equal access to the conversational floor.... Small classes would be, in essence, short-term communities of shared learning. Why is this at odds at what happens in so many classes?[12]

WHY ARE SOME STUDENTS SILENT?

Students are silent for many reasons. Many teachers say that they call only on students who raise their hands, so as not to embarrass or cause discomfort to other students. This approach, however, may seriously disadvantage "silent" students. Krupnick points out that assertive students benefit from the teacher's direct attention, corrections, and praise, while the others may listen less attentively, may subsequently prepare less for class, and may thus "disqualify themselves further as serious conversational contenders."[13] She notes that while *some* nonparticipants may be shy, it is unlikely they *all* are.

Students who do not participate may miss out not only on classroom learning but also on learning the participation skills often necessary for success in the workplace and the world beyond the classroom.

Silence itself may be viewed differently for men and women. Silent men are thought to be "thinking." The words "strong silent type" are positively attributed to silent males. In contrast, women who are silent may be viewed as unassertive and uninformed.

Men and women students themselves may view their participation somewhat differently.

> Students who speak frequently in class, many of whom are men, assume it is their job to think of contributions and try to get the floor to express them. But many women monitor their participation not only to get the floor *but also to avoid getting it*. Many women students say that if they have spoken up once or twice, they hold back for the rest of the class because they don't want to dominate. If they spoke a lot one week, they are silent the next. Since these different ethics of participation are unstated, those who speak freely assume those who are silent have nothing to say, and those who rein themselves in think the big talkers selfish and hoggish.[14] [italics added]

Many women have been socialized to be silent, especially in formal mixed groups. Some women may also feel angry or alienated; particularly in a classroom where their participation is not welcome, their silence may indicate a rejection of the teacher.

Some students are acutely uncomfortable participating, no matter how the classroom is structured. Some students from different cultures, such as Native Americans or Asian Americans, may have values that conflict with participation— values of modesty or respect for authority, for example. Their lack of participation does not always mean lack of involvement or lack of knowledge, as it is sometimes misperceived. They may indeed be listening carefully. Though not often valued in many of our classrooms, careful listening is a learning skill just as important as participating in discussion.

Students may equate their own lack of participation with a lack of intellectual competence, thus undermining their own self-confidence. Like faculty members, they may mistakenly assume that the ability or desire to respond quickly is a sign of intellectual prowess.

Some students who do not easily participate, whether turned off by a competitive classroom style or for other reasons, may become more comfortable and participate more actively when the classroom environment becomes less competitive, more collaborative and supportive.

In any event, it is important that participation be defined broadly and that we offer ways of participating that may make it easier for students to become actively engaged. For example, participation *outside* of class in a community activity related to the subject of the course could be considered a form of participation. At the same time, treating all students "the same" is not always helpful; we need to explicitly encourage quieter students—to call on them when they do not volunteer and place them in group situations where participation may be easier.[15] (See recommendations for ways to increase participation.)

HOW GENDER INFLUENCES CLASSROOM INTERACTIONS

Although most of us like to believe we are free of sexist prejudices, stereotypes, and biases, each of us has deep-seated beliefs and expectations of which we may not be fully aware. All of us have expectations about how women and men are "supposed" to behave in various situations. Despite our conscious beliefs that men and women are "equal," we may nevertheless value men who are strong and assertive but be uncomfortable with women who have these characteristics because we expect them to be more passive and acquiescent. We expect women to be nurturing and men to be assertive, women to be emotionally responsive and men to be emotionally distant.

Our gender expectations are often subtle, but cover a wide range of behavior. We expect women to be modest about their achievements, but men to brag. In conversation, we expect men to analyze, explain, clarify, and control the topic and flow. In contrast, we expect women to reinforce and maintain the conversation, to reduce tensions and restore unity.

When men and women behave according to our expectations, we are more likely to be comfortable and approving. When they do not, we experience discomfort; we may disapprove and even become defensive or aggressive.

Gender is a fundamental way we categorize people without regard to their other roles or characteristics; gender shapes our perceptions, thoughts, and behaviors about ourselves and others, both consciously and unconsciously. Gender-related categories are more than mere labels; both students and faculty come to the postsecondary classroom with gender-based expectations for themselves and for others.

REVISITING DIFFERENCES IN THE CLASSROOM: HOW WOMEN ARE TREATED DIFFERENTLY

> The problem is not that you are a woman. The problem is that you are treated differently.[16]
>
> While an individual woman may see herself as simply another member of the group, her male colleagues are likely to perceive her as being quite different from themselves.[17]

Behavior in the classroom, like behavior in the institution, reflects the strengths, weaknesses, and biases of our society, including those related to gender. Sometimes behaviors related to gender are overt and easily noticed; sometimes they may be so subtle they escape notice even by those at whom they are directed. They are often part and parcel of our daily life; they seem comfortable and "normal." Yet because they are not always recognized, such behaviors may have a more long-lasting and unrecognized impact on women students.

In 1982, we described specific types of small behaviors that teachers, male and female, may engage in, behaviors which by themselves seem inconsequential. Yet when they occur again and again, they can have a substantial impact on student learning, self-esteem, class participation, and ambitions. These behaviors do not happen all the time nor do they occur in every classroom. The behaviors themselves are small, and by themselves, individually, would be of little consequence, but they happen often enough to give women and men a message that women are not expected to participate actively in the classroom and that their contributions are not valued—a message that may ultimately lower women's self-confidence and intellectual and vocational ambitions.

In this report we focus less on the overt, more recognizable behaviors that affect women negatively. Instead, we focus more on subtle behaviors that are often unnoticed by either the person who is their source or those who "receive" them.

Mary Rowe of MIT coined the term "micro-inequities" to describe these small everyday interactions in which individuals are often treated differently because of their gender, race, or age. Taken by itself, a micro-inequity may have a miniscule effect, if it has any at all, or may go unnoticed. Yet, many such small behaviors can have a cumulative impact, creating an environment that "maintains(s) unequal opportunity, because they are in the air we breathe...and because we cannot change the personal characteristic...that leads to the inequity."[18] Because of these micro-inequities, men and women often have very different experiences in the same classroom.

We have organized differential behaviors women experience into categories, so that they can be readily recognized. In some instances we struggled to assign a behavior to a particular category, because some fit into more than one. Although readers of our 1982 report will recognize many of the behaviors, we have added many new ones.[19]

For some readers, the description of classroom inequities may be discouraging and appear to indicate that little has changed over the years. While there has been obvious progress, there are still faculty members and administrators who fail to respond to increased enrollment of women and people of color.

In some instances, we have included examples of more egregious behaviors, not because they are micro-inequities—which they are not—but because their importance is typically minimized by the person committing the behavior. Although overtly discriminatory behaviors have decreased, they have not been eliminated. We are still attending to behaviors that many of us thought would have disappeared by now.

Behaviors That Communicate Lower Expectations for Women Students

Asking women students easier questions, primarily factual ones, while asking men harder, higher-order, more open-ended questions that demand personal evaluation and critical thinking. The latter give more opportunity to display one's talents and the chance to guess. The former are either right or wrong, offering little more than an opportunity to provide specific information.

Grouping women in ways which indicate they have less status or are less capable. Not letting women form all-female groups, so "they will have the men to help them," or insisting on all-female groups, so "they don't hold up the men."

Making seemingly helpful comments which imply women are not as competent as men. "I know you women have difficulty with the equipment; let me show you how to use it."

Doubting women's work and accomplishments. When women have done very good work, asking who helped them with it or if they "really" did it by themselves.

Expecting less of women students in the future. Men are seen as future professionals; women are seen as potential mothers who will drop out of a professional career or never make it there in the first place.

Calling males "men" and females "girls" or "gals." Such nonparallel naming implies that women are less serious and less capable than men, and that less is expected of them.

Yielding to the Influence of Internalized Stereotypes

Using classroom examples that reflect stereotypes about men and women. The scientist and the doctor are always "he;" the nurse, the teacher, the victim, always "she."

Addressing women in ways that reinforce social and/or sexual roles rather than intellectual ones. Calling women students "honey," "dearie," "sweetie," "cutie," or "hotstuff."

Focusing on a woman's appearance, personal qualities, and relationships, rather than on her accomplishments. "I'd like to hear from that charming young lady in the back row" gives a different message than "I'd like to hear what Mary has to say about this. She always has good ideas."[20]

Judging women by their physical appearance, and downgrading those who are not "attractive" or do not dress "attractively."

Describing some women by their physical characteristics, such as a "blonde," a word which encapsulates a stereotyped set of attributes and behaviors and, at the same time, denigrates those not deemed "attractive."

Using a different vocabulary to describe behavior or accomplishments. Describing an angry man as "angry," but an angry woman as "bitchy." Describing an assertive, competent woman as a "bitch." Describing a likeable man as "sociable" but a likeable woman as "charming."

Expressing stereotypes that discourage women from pursuing academic and professional careers. Even in the 1990s we hear of women being told primarily by male faculty that

> "A woman's place is in the home."
>
> "All women need to become mothers if they are to fulfill themselves."
>
> "Most women go to college to catch a husband."
>
> "Women are less capable of abstract thinking."
>
> "Women aren't good at 'technical' things."
>
> "Women are naturally more caring while men are naturally more aggressive."[21]

Assigning classroom tasks according to stereotyped roles. Assigning women to be note-takers or secretaries in experiments or group discussions. As a result, they get less hands-on experience with equipment and less experience in discussion.

Falling back on disparaging stereotyped words when annoyed or angry with female students. Male faculty may use comments such as "Look here, *sweetie*," or "Don't talk back to me, *little girl*."

Excluding Women from Class Participation

Ignoring women students while recognizing men students, even when women clearly volunteer to participate by raising their hands.

Addressing the class as if there were no women present. "When you were a boy, did you ever...?"

Interrupting women students, or allowing their peers to interrupt them. Interruptions may focus on a woman's physical attractiveness or some other factor unrelated to her comments. "You look so cute when you are mad." In contrast, interruptions of male students are often a means of continuing an intellectual dialogue: "So you believe that...."

When women interrupt, they tend to continue the flow of conversation, as in "So what you're saying is...."[22] In contrast, to the extent men approach conversation as a contest and want to show dominance, their interruptions are more likely to change the topic[23] and sometimes trivialize it.

Not only do male faculty and students interrupt women more,[24] **women may be particularly vulnerable when they are interrupted**. In a study of Harvard University students, Krupnick notes that once a woman was interrupted, she tended to stay out of the discussion for the remainder of the class. Thus, there are more one-time female contributors than men. Krupnick also observed that among her Harvard subjects, women were interrupted primarily by women.[25] However, we found no studies in which men were interrupted more than women in mixed groups.[26] Regardless of who does the interrupting, women are interrupted more than men.

If women are unaware of the greater tendency of males to interrupt them, they typically will stop speaking and allow the male to take over the conversation. If women are aware of this phenomenon, they are more likely to hold their speaking ground.

Treating Men and Women Differently When Their Behavior or Achievements Are the Same

Often, even when men and women behave or achieve in the same manner, faculty responses may differ:

Women students who ask extensive questions may be treated as troublemakers. Older women students may be particularly vulnerable to such reactions, which may occur because they do not conform to the stereotype of the passive learner, quiet and unassuming. Men who act in the same manner may be considered interested and bright.

Women who ask for help may be thought not to know the material, while men asking for help may be considered smart, inquisitive, and involved.

Faculty members may view marriage and parental status differently for males and females. Females planing to major in nontraditional fields or to take advanced work are far more likely to be asked if they have thought about how their career would affect their future family; men are rarely so questioned.[27]

Women's achievements may be attributed to something other than their abilities. Faculty members and students often view a woman who wins a prestigious prize or is admitted to a prestigious program as having done so because of good luck, affirmative action, or beauty. Men's achievements are typically attributed to talent.

Both male and female faculty and students may frown more when women students speak than when men speak.[28] Other students, again both male and female, may also be less responsive and reinforcing when women students speak. Some may indicate their displeasure, particularly at those women who speak often, with frowns and negative body language, such as rolling their eyes and turning away.

Women who speak tentatively are judged as being less competent and knowledgeable, but tentativeness is not a criterion for competence when rating male speakers.[29]

Giving Women Less Attention and Intellectual Encouragement

Women students often get less attention and intellectual encouragement in many ways that are not recognized by faculty members or even by the students themselves.[30]

Making eye contact with men more often then with women. Eye contact tells students that the teacher cares about their response, is concerned that they understand the material, and is checking to see if they pay attention.

Nodding and gesturing more and paying more attention in general when men speak. These very reinforcing behaviors encourage people to speak longer, elaborate their thoughts, and speak again at another time.

Responding more extensively to men's comments. Faculty members are more likely to reward men for their participation by continuing intellectual dialogue with them, making additional comments, asking questions, coaching, and giving other indications of interest. A woman is more likely to receive the ubiquitous "uh-huh," a comment which indicates only that she said something and was heard.

Standing closer to male students, which may make it more likely that males are called on more often.

Calling on male students more frequently, even when women raise their hands or when no one does. Men are more likely to be called on directly, even if they do not raise their hands: "John, what do you think about...?" Sadker and Sadker report that white males are asked more questions than any other group in the classroom and that minority males are next in line. White females follow; minority females receive the least instructor time and attention and have the least instructor interaction.[31]

Calling male students by name more frequently. Being called by name may increase one's sense of individuality and acceptance. Sometimes faculty call men by their last names ("Mr. Jones") but women by their first, often in diminutive form, such as "Suzy." This behavior reinforces the notion for all in the classroom that women are less serious than their male peers or are not considered future professional equals. Occasionally the reverse occurs, when men are called by first names and women by their last names. In this instance, the women may feel excluded and more distant from the teacher. The formality or informality is less important than the inconsistency and differential behavior toward students according to gender.

Coaching men but not women to work towards a fuller answer, by prompting them with encouraging words such as, "Tell me more about that."

Waiting longer for men than women to respond to a question before going on to another student. Faculty members may wait because they believe the male student is thinking through his answer. In contrast, they may assume that a woman slow to respond simply does not know the answer and so they move quickly on to another student.

Crediting men's comments to their "author." ("...as Bill said"), but not giving authorship to women's comments. (Sometimes a comment a woman makes in a discussion will later be credited to a male.)

Giving men more detailed instructions for a task, while giving women fewer instructions, as if they are expected to fail.

Giving women students less feedback—less criticism, less help, and less praise.[32] For some women, the only praise they may receive is for their appearance.[33] Even the type of criticism women and men receive may differ. One early study of gender in the classroom noted that males were more likely to be criticized for lack of effort, while females were more likely to be criticized for the quality of their work. The type of criticism males receive is not as likely to affect their perception of their ability; the type of criticism females receive would be more likely to affect such perceptions.[34]

Teachers not only interact more with male students and focus on them by giving them more attention but **teachers are also more concerned about male student behavior.** Faculty members may be concerned about controlling male behavior, whether the men are acting in a dominant or detached manner. Male behaviors of domi-

nance and detachment are more likely to get attention than behaviors from females that focus on clarifying the discussion or expanding on what others have to say.[35] Faculty members may unwittingly respond positively to male students' attempts to dominate the classroom and may worry more when they are not involved in classroom interaction than when females do not participate. This is as true for many women faculty as it is for male faculty, even for those women who care deeply about equity issues. Dale Spender, who has written extensively about women in education, admits,

> Blatantly I had declared that I preferred talking to women. Confidently I claimed 'women made more sense.' But in the presence of men I 'unconsciously' reproduced the meanings I consciously explored.... I was constantly discovering, to my own dismay, that while I believed that I did not give more attention to men than women in mixed-sex talk, that I did not turn to them for guidance, defer to their opinions, seek confirmation from them, or favor them at the expense of women, the tapes which I studied told a different story.... [I and the other women] all allowed males to be the center of attention and to determine the parameters of the talk.[36]

Women students may receive less encouragement to take on harder tasks, such as independent study, to take advanced level courses, to enter fields perceived as difficult or male dominated, or to go on to graduate study. They may also receive less encouragement to apply for prizes, internships, assistantships, or employment, and often have little or no information about them.

Engaging in more informal conversation with men than with women before, after, and outside of class. Many people are more comfortable with their own gender and may seek them out or even actively avoid the other gender. Some male faculty members may engage in more informal conversation with male students simply because they are uncomfortable with females. Some may even avoid informal interactions with women students because they do not understand what sexual harassment is and are fearful of false charges. Given the relatively low number of women faculty in most departments, women students generally have fewer informal interactions with faculty. The problem is compounded when some women faculty members also seek more interaction with males because their expectations for females are lower and males are the more valued group. (See section on devaluation.)

Discouraging Women Through Politeness

False chivalry is not the same as nurturing. Courtesy and politeness may be deliberately or inadvertently used to patronize women students, particularly when displayed in a paternalistic manner.[37]

By using some forms of politeness, faculty may shift the focus away from intellectual activities to social behavior, simultaneously trivializing women students and setting different expectations for them, compared to men.

"We have a group of lovely ladies in our classroom."

"I like to see the girls' smiling faces."

But even when it is less than patronizing, "politeness" based on stereotypes can have a negative impact on women students.

Male students and teachers may perform tasks for women students under the guise of being helpful. But they thereby deprive women of hands-on experience (e.g., in a laboratory experiment) and at the same time communicate low expectations of their ability to complete tasks on their own.

Faculty members may be excessively kind, paternalistic, or maternalistic as they try to be helpful and hold women to a lower standard. Sometimes, they may withhold excessive critique of a woman's work because they may be worried that a woman might cry.

"Let's group the women together so they can help each other."

Such a "helpful" comment implies that women are "special," not quite up to par with other members of the class.

Although nurturing behavior is often genuinely helpful and encouraging, over-nurturing may imply helplessness and therefore may have the opposite effect of what is

intended; it may actually decrease self-esteem. Over-nurturing is often accompanied by lower expectations.

Telling the class that the teacher is refraining from telling certain jokes or using certain words because there are "ladies" present. This calls attention to women's supposed social role (not liking such jokes) as opposed to their intellectual role as students in the class. Such teacher behavior sets women apart from the rest of the group. Indeed, the women become responsible for denying men the jokes they may have liked to hear.

Based on respect, true courtesy does not patronize, trivialize, or depersonalize others' abilities or talents, nor does it disappear when a woman acts in a way that deviates from gender stereotypes.

Singling Out Women

Teachers may single out women and other groups of students, such as people of color, older students, and disabled students. Teachers may respond with effusiveness and praise: "I'm glad we have so many women in the classroom this semester," or "Can you tell us what the woman's point of view is on this question?," thereby suggesting all women share the same views and have no individual viewpoints. At other times, such students may simply be ignored. In either case, they are likely to feel uncomfortable, isolated, excluded, marginalized, or stigmatized (see section on difference). **Occasionally a woman faculty member may call more often on women,** partly because she is uncomfortable with men, unsure how to engage them, or fearful of their responses. Sometimes men students contribute to this behavior by detaching themselves from the group, e.g., by sitting together and refusing to participate,[38] (which may make the faculty member and some women students feel uncomfortable).

Male faculty are more likely to touch women students than men students. Although touching may be used to reassure or to indicate friendliness, male faculty rarely touch male students. If touch is for these purposes, males are being excluded. Some women find touches by male faculty ambiguous; they are not sure if the touch is friendly or sexual, especially if males are not touched in the same manner. Touch is also associated with power. Those with more power (males, older persons, persons with higher socioeconomic status, for example) are more likely to initiate touching and to touch females, younger persons, and those with less status. We touch those we view as weaker, such as children and women. Thus a touch may have more than one meaning and may have different meanings to the toucher and the touched.[39]

Defining Women by Their Sexuality

Male college students (and sometimes faculty members and women students as well) may evaluate female students more on the basis of their attractiveness, sexuality, and personality than their intellectual competence and abilities. Some women may play down their intellectual abilities; despite changes in attitude toward women and their achievements, many young women still may worry that being "bright" will make them less attractive to men. Sexuality affects the classroom in many ways.

Relating to women in a sexual manner, making sexual comments about or toward specific women or women in general, such as discussing a woman's appearance or physical attributes or using sexual humor.[40]

Valuing and praising women for their appearance, not for their intellectual ability. Men are rarely praised for their physical appearance nor is it considered related to their work or potential.

Devaluing or ignoring comments made by women perceived as "unfeminine" or believed to be lesbian or bisexual. The words "lesbian" and "bisexual" may be used as pejorative terms, especially when women raise women's issues. Using these terms in a derogatory manner is demeaning to all women.

Engaging in sexually harassing behaviors or allowing others, including students, to do so. Sexual harassment consists of unwanted sexual behaviors in a context of *formal* power (such as the relationship of a faculty member with a student) or *informal* power (such as the relationship of a male student to a female student).

Harassment on the basis of sex is a violation of Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972; faculty members, as agents of the institution, have a responsibility to intervene (or notify another authority) when they observe or know about sexual harassment, including behavior such as sexual overtures, sexual innuendos, unwanted touching and grabbing, leering, and the like.

Twenty to 30 percent of women undergraduates experience some form of sexual harassment from male faculty members or staff. At the graduate level, the figure rises to 30 to 40 percent.[41] While it is beyond the scope of this report to discuss sexual harassment in detail, sexual harassment remains a problem for many women students, making them uncomfortable and/or angry, and sometimes causing them to drop courses or leave school or to suffer emotional damage. (See sections on student-to-student hostility and harassment and on devaluation and power.)

Consensual relationships also present problems:[42]

> ...the ban of [faculty having] sex with students has little to do with sexual morality; it has everything to do with effective teaching. Sex with students is the extreme form of intimacy that can be destructive when it transforms the mentor from "someone I trust to teach me what I want to know" into someone "I fear, or hate, or love, or feel equal or superior to...." Neither the learner's nor the listener's mind is fully engaged with the material to be learned. It is entangled instead in the "relationship."[43]

An intimate relationship between a faculty member and a student can affect other students in the classroom who may believe they are being treated unfairly because they are not getting as much attention both in and out of class. They may feel that grades or perks have been unfairly given to the student involved in the relationship. Female students may feel uncomfortable and may wonder if they will be expected to have a relationship with the male faculty member.

Overt Hostile Behavior Toward Women: Making Disparaging Remarks

Although female and male faculty members alike engage in the behaviors we describe in this report, some are more likely to occur in male-taught classes, particularly overtly disparaging gender-related behavior and denigrating sexist humor. These overt behaviors, such as negative comments about women, have decreased markedly over the last two decades, but they still occur in some classrooms and continue to affect women's participation and learning.

Some faculty are overtly hostile to all students, men and women alike, but those who use offensive, embarrassing, or belittling humor, though relatively small in number, are likely to be male. At one college, 15 percent of male students and 27 percent of female students said male faculty behaved in this manner often or sometimes. Such behavior may have a greater impact on women than on men. In the same study, in small classes, 76 percent of women, but less than half of the men, reported that they had experienced feelings of fear, humiliation, or intimidation in courses taught by males.[44]

Many people, including women students, typically recognize overt behavior as negative or hostile when it is aimed at a particular woman or at women in general. Such behaviors by faculty or other students often leave women feeling angry, demeaned, and uncomfortable. Their class participation may drop considerably and some may drop out of class. Hostile remarks made in one classroom can also have a carryover effect on behavior in another classroom. A student upset by a professor's comments in one class may be too angry or upset to participate in her next class.

Moreover, such behaviors may constitute discrimination under law, and in some instances, create a hostile environment that interferes with a person's ability to learn. (See box on freedom of speech in the classroom.)

Comments that demean women's abilities, scholarship, seriousness of academic commitment, or their very presence are exemplified by remarks like these, all of

which were made during the 1990s and reported to us informally by women students and faculty:

> "This department was a much better place before we let in so many women."
>
> "I do not believe women should be engineers. I will not call on them in my classroom."[45]
>
> "Most of the women are here [in a graduate program] because of affirmative action."

Ridiculing or making denigrating remarks about women's issues or making light of issues such as sexual harassment and sexual assault.

Discouraging students from conducting research on women's issues.

Making disparaging remarks about scholarship or specific works by women.

Calling women names if they are interested in women's issues or protest sexism.

Sometimes when a student raises women's issues, such as asking why a discussion of violence in society does not include sexual assault, faculty members become hostile. Some have pejoratively responded to women who are interested in women's issues or who protest sexism by calling them "women's libbers," "feminists," "dykes," or "lesbians" and have ridiculed them for bringing up such issues. In many instances, these responses have effectively silenced the student from speaking about women again—and perhaps silenced her from speaking altogether. (See box on freedom of speech in the classroom.)

> I was really nervous, but I asked my professor why he only talked about women as consumers or secretaries. He said, "Oh no, we have one of those women libbers in here." I didn't open my mouth the rest of the term.[46]

Making sexist remarks about women in general or women in the class.[47]

> My professor kept referring to a character in the novel we were discussing as a "rich bitch." I was offended and uncomfortable.

Using humor in an hostile manner.[48] Although humor can be used to lighten up a situation, relax people, and build group solidarity, it can also be used aggressively to identify those who are not like us and are outsiders, to substitute ridicule for other forms of aggression, and to discuss taboo subjects. Sometimes sexual harassment takes the form of "humorous" sexual remarks.

Stimpson explains why some men will use humor as a form of harassment:

> Disguising the language of harassment as humor has several advantages. First it draws on our old, shrewd assessment of much sexual behavior as funny and comic. Next, it simultaneously inflates the harasser to the status of good fellow, able to tell a joke, and deflates the harassed to the status of prude, unable to take one.[49]

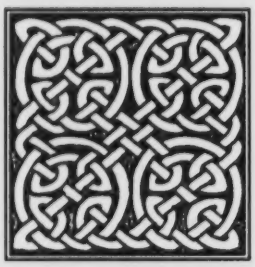
The hostility in "humorous" ethnic jokes that demean various groups is similar to that in the so-called "locker-room" jokes that demean women.

Some faculty members make sexist and sexual remarks and tell such stories and jokes in class, sometimes unaware that they are offensive to many women. Sometimes a remark or story is prefaced with "You girls probably won't like this joke," but the joke is told nevertheless, communicating to all that the discomfort of women is unimportant. Should a woman complain, she is typically asked, "Can't you take a joke?" as if the fault were hers and not the joke-teller's. Just as racist humor hurts people of color, sexist humor hurts women.

Student-to-Student Hostility and Harassment

Students also engage in many of the behaviors described above and by doing so can also create a hostile learning environment which not only affects the learning climate but also may violate federal and state antidiscrimination laws. Between 70 and 90 percent of women students have experienced at least one incident from one or more males which they viewed as serious and to which they reacted negatively.[50]

Because faculty are "agents" of the institution, they may put the institution at risk for liability in a discrimination charge if they ignore student behaviors that denigrate



FREEDOM OF SPEECH IN THE CLASSROOM

Freedom of speech, academic freedom, and the rights of faculty have received much attention in recent years. Although it is beyond the scope of this report to examine these issues in detail, it is important to note that both student and faculty rights are involved.

For example, under Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, which prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex in educational institutions that accept federal funds, sexual harassment is prohibited. A hostile environment, a form of sexual harassment, consists of behaviors, including speech, that interfere with a person's ability to learn, his or her living conditions, or other opportunities provided by the institution. The courts are in the process of defining the criteria to determine when a hostile environment exists.

Academic freedom for faculty

Although the First Amendment, which applies only to public institutions, is often used to justify a faculty member's statements, even when they are sexist and/or racist, institutions would be wise to recognize that the First Amendment *cannot* be used to excuse poor teaching. Even *if* a faculty member has a *right* to make particular statements, the fact that such behavior *results in poor teaching* gives institutions a way to respond to it.

Moreover, academic freedom is not unlimited. It does not protect classroom speech unrelated to the subject being taught or which violates federal or state anti-discrimination laws, nor does it protect disruptive or aggressive speech.[51] Academic freedom is intended to encourage creativity. In one case, for example, a federal judge noted that academic freedom "should never be used to shield illegal, discriminatory conduct. Any suggestion to the contrary would contravene Congress' intent in enacting Title IX."[52]

Academic freedom for students

Although much has been written about academic freedom for faculty members and their right to discuss controversial issues without fear of reprimand, little has been written about the rights of students to do the same.

In one class when a female student raised an issue concerning women, several male students groaned and booed. The faculty member said nothing. The woman did not participate in that class again.[53]

While most faculty members welcome the free discussion of ideas in their classrooms, women's issues are sometimes not treated in the same manner as other controversial topics. They are not viewed as serious topics for exploration. Instead, those who raise these issues often face ridicule, sarcasm, hostile comments, a refusal to be taken seriously, and name-calling ("women's libber" or "the politically correct police"). When students engage in such behavior, faculty do not always intervene, thus communicating to all that the rude behavior is acceptable.

Such responses communicate not only to the woman who raises them but to all students that these issues are not safe, that the faculty member does not have an open mind insofar as they are concerned, and that women's issues themselves are not worthy of discussion. When faculty members respond in this way, they encourage other students to do the same. The result is that students too may engage in this behavior, both in and out of the classroom, isolating and silencing those who show concern about women's issues.

Denial of freedom of speech to women who raise women's issues in the classroom is one of the most common forms of restriction of academic freedom in the classroom.

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or demean women students. In doing so, they are allowing a discriminatory environment to continue and are consciously or unconsciously colluding with the male students by failing to stop such offensive behavior as

> Male students rolling their eyes or indicating annoyance by other behavior or body language when women students speak.
>
> Hissing or ridiculing women students when they raise women's issues in the classroom.
>
> Denigrating or ridiculing women, or engaging in other rude behaviors that express hostility to women in class or in general.

If blatantly sexist student remarks are overlooked, if there is no discussion or other response to behavior demeaning to females, the message to men and women in the classroom is clear: such behaviors are acceptable.[54]

Some students become hostile to faculty members and other students when issues involving race and gender are discussed and included in the curriculum. (See section on the place for discussing difference in Part III.)

DO STUDENTS CAUSE DIFFERENTIAL TEACHER BEHAVIOR?

Some researchers have suggested that students themselves are responsible for their own differential treatment, arguing, for example, that women are more passive to begin with and are not called on as often as males simply because they do not participate as actively as males do.[55] They conclude that faculty may not be the major cause of passive student behavior, particularly that of females, and that therefore, remedies suggested to warm up the chilly climate for women are not really necessary.[56]

The arguments about student-initiated differences in participation have typically omitted consideration of faculty-initiated differences (as if it were an either-or question). This argument puts the *full* responsibility for participation on students and does not examine the relationship between student and faculty behavior. Even so, to the extent that students may initiate some behaviors, faculty still need to address these behaviors and to respond appropriately, so that the behaviors do not limit participation or learning experiences.

Clearly further research is needed to untangle the following questions:

> Which faculty and student behaviors have an impact on student classroom behavior? How?
>
> Do teachers reinforce already existing student classroom behaviors? If so, how? Which behaviors?
>
> How can faculty members change students' classroom behavior?

In many classrooms, men and women *are* treated differently, whether in subtle or overt ways. It is highly likely that differential treatment may reinforce some existing behaviors and, in some instances, have negative effects, such as discouraging women from participating while encouraging men to do so.

Many of the remedies proposed in our original report and in this one will help women and men of color and others who experience similar exclusions and differential behavior to participate more fully in the classroom, whether the causes for their nonparticipation lie in their own or the teacher's behavior, or in both.

MALE AND FEMALE STUDENT BEHAVIOR

> Women are taught to accommodate men.
>
> Men are taught they will be accommodated to. (sic)
>
> Men expect to be understood.
>
> Women work to be understood.[57]

Denise Strong adds that women also work to understand others.[58] Kramarae and others argue that contrary to the title of the popular book, *You Just Don't Understand: Women and Men in Conversation*,[59] women and men do understand each other quite well.[60] Troemel-Ploetz writes:

> They know who is allowed to use dominant speech acts, like commands, orders, explanations, contra-

> diction, doubts, advice, criticism, evaluations, definitions, punishment, attacks, challenges, accusations, reproaches; and who has to apologize, defend, ask for favors, beg, request permission, justify herself, agree, support, adjust, accommodate, and accept someone else's definition of the situation.[61]

Male students, more likely to be concerned about autonomy, may prefer to interact with others through competition and power; women students, more likely to be concerned about connecting with other people and developing relationships, are more likely to interact by cooperating and synthesizing.[62] Thus, many women may be uncomfortable when men *or* women assert their autonomy; many men may be uncomfortable when women *or* men try to establish some level of intimacy. (Of course, everyone has autonomy and intimacy needs, but in most people, one or the other will predominate in their behavior.)

Deborah Tannen, among others, points out that men are likely to be more hierarchical, using speech to test out where their "place" is in the hierarchy, while women are more likely to use speech to make connections and negotiate closeness and relationships. Women are more likely to seek intimacy, friendship, and community; men are more likely to seek power and status.[63] More men than women enjoy and feel validated by verbal sparring, which Henes dubs "affirmation through opposition." She notes that validation for women comes from gaining consensus among the group, that women often present information in a way that invites others' opinions rather than defends a single viewpoint.[64]

Women tend to raise their hands when they want to ask or respond to a question; men are more likely to quickly call out the answer without waiting to be called on. Men's immediate response, which has the effect of limiting women's contributions, may also be disruptive to the class process, particularly if some who immediately raise their hands to speak or to call out have not thought out their answer, which may then be less organized and take longer to express. In contrast, those students, often women, who think out their answers *before* raising their hands may offer better organized responses. The habit of calling on the first hand up often has a detrimental impact on the participation of those students who are more likely *to think before they participate.*

Women may also be more likely to take a faculty member's comments more personally and more intensely. For a woman student, praise for her work (particularly because it may be relatively rare) may have a strong impact; she may also view criticism as more negative than intended.

MEN AND WOMEN TALKING DIFFERENTLY: THE DIFFERENTIAL USE OF SPEECH AND LANGUAGE BY GENDER

Numerous researchers have noticed that men and women use language and speech differently[65] and that speech behavior is often interpreted and perceived differently according to gender.[66] Research on speech helps us understand how people interact with each other, why certain forms of speech may silence women and others, and how women's tendency to use more tentative speech may be perceived as a lack of knowledge or commitment. However, like other research, most of the examinations of men's and women's speech have been conducted primarily on white people, so that we have little information about differences by race. The generalities in this section, as in others, may not apply to many women of color.

Here are some ways in which women and men may use speech differently:

Females generally learn to use speech for developing and maintaining relationships.

> Many...females...demonstrate communication skills that promote linking. These women reach out, verbally and non-verbally, and make an effort to cultivate collegial relationships. They try to keep conversations going, add a thought, do the interaction work, nurture others and accommodate. In short, they want to connect. Many of the men, on the other hand, seem more preoccupied with trying to achieve personal rank.... They try to control by maneuvering conversations to topics in which they are interested and turning off topics they do not care for.[67]

Thus women learn to give criticism in a helpful rather than competitive manner; they learn to interpret the speech of others. When they respond to another's comments, they often enlarge upon the person's ideas rather than challenge his or her assumptions.[67] In contrast, males generally learn to use speech to express dominance in a competitive manner. They seek to attract and maintain an audience and to assert themselves when others have the floor.[68] Men's speech is more likely to be direct and authoritative ("This room is hot."), while women's speech often seems indirect and tentative ("Is this room hot?" or "It's hot in here, isn't it?" or "Do you think it's hot in here?"). Persons who use "feminine" speech are typically perceived as less competent and less persuasive than those who use more "masculine" speech, whether the speaker is male or female.[69]

Women are more likely to start conversations and keep them going; men are more likely to interrupt.[70] The conversational "rule" is that the more powerful can interrupt the less powerful. Women use more "minimal responses" such as "uh-huh," by which they mean "I'm listening to you," while men, who use them less, usually mean "I agree with what you are saying."[71]

Women's speech is typically more tentative, polite, and deferential, while men's speech generally is more assertive and definitive. Men are more likely to make declarative statements, while females make more qualifying and inquiring statements. The tentativeness of women's speech may be partly related to the power difference between men and women.

Women's speech is often hesitant, characterized by false starts ("I was wondering..." or "I think...") and more likely to include qualifiers ("perhaps," "maybe," "somehow," "there is a possibility that in some instances..."). This, like other kinds of women's speech, can be an effort to include others and to encourage others to state their ideas.

Women's speech is generally more apologetic. ("I don't know if I ought to say this, but....") Women are also more likely to use tag questions, such as "It's cold in here, isn't it?" This may occur for a number of reasons, including power differences and the expectations of women's greater politeness. Women, like men, adapt and try to "fit in." Often the best way to do so is by not challenging, at least in speech patterns, stereotypes about appropriate behavior. Tag questions can be used to emphasize something in a "polite" and less assertive manner.

Women's voices are more likely to exhibit rising inflection at the end of a sentence. Although there are regional differences and a possibly increasing tendency for many to "rise" at the end of a sentence, rising inflection may also reflect a sense of powerlessness, uncertainty, or seeking of agreement.

Women are more likely to use questions to maintain a conversation, even if they know an answer. ("Is it cold in here?" or "Do you think the Revolution was caused by—?") Men are more likely to answer questions and use them to obtain information. Although women are more likely to ask questions as a way of making a point, they may use them to avoid making a definitive statement, i.e., speaking in a "masculine" way. One of the authors of this report recalls how she spent her undergraduate years never making a definitive statement but always looking instead for the "clever" question to ask.

Men are more likely to control the topic of conversations in mixed gender interactions; women often defer to men's choices.[72]

Women's verbal comments are often accompanied by nonverbal behaviors such as smiling (sometimes seemingly inappropriately) or averting their eyes, especially when dealing with men or any person in authority.[73]

Contrary to the myth that women talk more than men, **men speak more often than females in mixed gender interactions.** Often faculty members are surprised to find, after an observer counts the times men and women speak, that men speak more, because this revelation contradicts their perception that women and men had been speaking equally. Usually women speak about one-third of the time. Should women speak more than that, they are typically perceived as rude, domineering, and aggressive.[74] A male professor at a law school described what

happened when he went out of his way to encourage women students to speak.

> I actually kept a journal on how long women and men spoke.. and at the end of the year, women had spoken about 40-45 percent of the time.... When I asked the men, they said the class was dominated by women [so] it was completely unfair. They thought women were speaking about 80 percent of the time.[76]

Women and men may respond to disagreement differently, men being more likely to view verbal aggression as positive, except when women engage in it. As mentioned earlier, men may use aggressive, challenging, critical, and argumentative behavior as a way to organize and maintain a conversation. Tannen[77] and others have noted that men seem to enjoy controversy more and to perceive it as energizing and interesting. In contrast, many women may view such behavior as negative, unappealing, even distressing, and as aimed at them personally. The competitive organization of many of our classrooms may well have a differential effect on women and men students: men are more likely to consider such an environment demanding but positive; women may view the same environment as inhospitable and negative. (This is discussed in greater detail in the section on the nature of the classroom.)

Men are more likely to use sports and military analogies, which many women and some men may not understand. One of the authors of this report remembers her puzzlement when, during one of the Gulf War briefings, General Schwartzkopf referred to the Army's use of a "Hail Mary play." She wondered if the Army was engaging in religious activity, but knew that did not make sense. "Everyone" else seemed to know what the General meant, but to her it was as if he was speaking in a foreign tongue which others understood and she did not. She felt that asking about the meaning of the comment might expose her to ridicule.

Even when men and women speak in the same manner, they may be perceived as speaking differently. Women speaking in an assertive manner, sounding and acting knowledgeable, using clear and definitive speech, acting in a nonsubordinate manner, may be labeled "arrogant" or "bitchy," even though they may be speaking no differently than their assertive male peers. Faculty members and male and female students may be less comfortable with female students whose behavior does not fit their expectations of how female students should act.

Because of their discomfort, some faculty members may unknowingly withhold attention or praise from an assertive female student and not call on her. Many people experience discomfort with women who do not use the stereotyped softer, more polite, more deferential speech, describing them not only as "bitchy," but also as "castrating," "Iron Maiden," "Dragon Lady," "abrasive," and "unfeminine." The behaviors for which men are rewarded—speaking forcefully, taking a strong stand, actively participating—may be penalized when women engage in them.

No matter what style of communication a woman uses, whether assertive speech or the softer speech typically associated with women, it is likely to be devalued. Indeed, women who speak in the more "typical female" manner may be considered less knowledgeable, less confident, less able.[77]

Though often unnoticed, women's speech, like men's, has a value of its own. Women's behavioral style—listening, clarifying, and providing affirmative verbal and nonverbal feedback such as nodding—encourages others to speak and participate.[78] Indeed there is a trend in management training to help supervisors engage in more collaborative and accommodating speech patterns, although the fact that women often speak this way is generally ignored in such discussions.

In the 1970s and 1980s, white women particularly were encouraged to change their speech by learning to speak "assertively" in order to achieve success. While it is indeed useful for women to learn how to speak "assertively," the assumption implicit in this recommendation is that the difficulties women faced were *within themselves*—characteristics to be remediated and changed. It is now apparent that institutions must also

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"Man, being a mammal, breast feeds his young."

"A gynecologist was awarded a medical award for service to his fellow man."

"The individual's freedom to bear children should not be defined by his education, income, or race."

"A reference to studies of the development of the uterus in rats, guinea pigs and men."

"Menstrual pain accounts for an enormous loss of manpower hours."[79]

THE GENERIC PRONOUN "HE" AND OTHER WORDS

Much has been written on how language shapes our thoughts, especially the use of male terms to refer generically to both men and women. Numerous studies confirm that when asked to respond in some way to generic terms such as "he," "him," "his," "man," and "mankind," men, women, and even children are apt to conjure up an image of one or more men. They do not respond with an image of both men and women. For example, in oral and written contexts, both men and women are less likely to include women and girls when asked to draw, point to a picture of, or write a story when people are described in generic male terms.[80]

The use of male terms for the generic person can reinforce stereotypes men and women students hold. Moreover, it can make women feel that the content of the materials being discussed is not relevant to them but to men only. Thus such usage indirectly affects both their participation and their learning.

Some teachers criticize students who use "he or she" in reports or in the classroom.[81] Occasionally, when the question of non-sexist language is raised, a faculty member or student may ask, "But isn't this trivial? Why are you wasting time on this when there are so many more important issues to focus on?" The comment indicates that at some deep level the speaker recognizes that language is powerful, for if the issue were truly trivial it would not raise such strong opposition; people would merely change their use of so-called generic words.

change, that women's ways of talking have value, and that *everyone* needs to know and be comfortable with various styles of speech and to choose a style to suit a particular situation.

WHY ARE THESE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN IMPORTANT?

> Look at a classroom: look at the many kinds of women's faces, postures, expressions. Listen to the women's voices. Listen to the silences, the unasked questions, the blanks. Listen to the small, soft voices, often courageously trying to speak up, voices of women taught early that tones of confidence, challenge, anger, or assertiveness, are strident and unfeminine. Listen to the voices of the women and the voices of the men; observe the space men allow themselves, physically and verbally, the male assumption that people will listen, even when the majority of the group is female. Look at the faces of the silent, and of those who speak. Listen to a woman groping for language in which to express what is on her mind, sensing that the terms of academic discourse are not her language, trying to cut down her thought to the dimensions of a discourse not intended for her *(for it is not fitting that a woman speak in public)*; or reading her paper aloud at breakneck speed, throwing her words away, deprecating her own work by a reflex prejudgment: *I do not deserve to take up time and space.*[82]

The differences between men's and women's speech and behavior are not simply differences of style:

Gender-related speech behaviors replicate the relationships between men and women in the general society. Henley and Kramarae, along with others, point out that these and other differences in women's and men's

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speech are not just gender differences *per se* but that men's and women's patterns of behavior often reinforce men's dominance and power:

> There is a clear pattern for language style associated with men to be that of power and dominance, and that associated with women to be that of powerlessness and submissiveness.[83]

> Our culture prepares men to talk and women to listen.[84]

These patterns are evident when a woman and a man each begin to talk at the same time in a classroom: the woman is more likely to defer to the man and cease talking, allowing him to complete his thoughts and statements.[85] Although many women do not realize this is their behavior, many will admit they are afraid they will say something that makes them seem too aggressive and "unfeminine."

Because these general patterns of male and female speech mirror the power imbalances in and out of the classroom, we cannot achieve equity in the classroom unless we are aware of how classroom behaviors often reflect and recreate broader social patterns.

Teachers respond to and may be more comfortable with behaviors that are consistent with their own gender expectations. A male teacher or student "may respond more readily to niceness, collusion, and even manipulation in a woman because her apparent acquiescence or deference serves to reassure him that he is really the 'expert.'"[86] A female teacher or student may respond positively to such behavior for similar reasons; they too are more comfortable with the gender expectations that permeate our society.

Both male and female teachers may inadvertently reinforce gender-related behaviors that fit the stereotypes of "femininity" and "masculinity" but are not necessarily valuable in the classroom. For example, "shy," nonparticipating females may not be encouraged to speak; male dominance of the classroom discussion that excludes others may be tolerated or even praised. Although women students are more likely to ask questions, more likely to acknowledge others' contributions and to build upon what others have said, thus making it easier for more people to join in the conversation,[87] their behavior may not be reinforced in the same manner that assertive definitive statements are welcomed and encouraged.

Krupnick has noted that many women are uncomfortable speaking in public situations, such as in a classroom, and often find it difficult to hold an audience—skills she notes are essential for most careers. Many men also lack specific skills, she says, but in different areas. They need to develop "listening skills," and "they must be shown that when they give instant answers to complicated questions, mostly for the sake of social posturing, they are not getting a very good education."[88]

The behavior of some male students may directly discourage women's participation in the classroom, particularly when men dominate and control discussion. Men not only talk more but also exert more control over the topic of conversation and the parameters of talk.[89]

As mentioned earlier, men interrupt women and other men more often, disagreeing with or ignoring women's comments. Such behavior may have a greater impact on women students than on men students, since women may consider it personally related to them, confirming their low status in the classroom. In contrast, men may consider the same behavior as a challenge and respond in kind.

Men's interruptions of women suggest that men typically listen to the first part of a statement and then almost immediately develop a response in preparation for competition in the conversation. Thompson, who calls this "self-listening," points out that men often do not respond to statements made by others (men and women) but instead bring in extraneous topics that are important to *themselves*, e.g., topics that show themselves as experts, as smarter than others—in other words, to rank themselves above others.[90] Men are often more critical of others' contributions, while women are more likely to "add a thought," to clarify, to expand on others' ideas. Men's immediate criticism can discourage some women from entering or remaining in the class discussion.

DEVALUATION

> One time the professor called me over to him and told me that I was doing very well in class. Naturally, I was very pleased to hear that. Then he added, "I'm really surprised." I did not know whether to ask him why, to yell at him, to cry or what. I just walked away.[91]

> At a well-known small liberal arts college, a female teacher was returning test papers which had been given and then graded by a male colleague during her absence. The objective test had been constructed by the female teacher and was scored with numerical grades. All of the men who received scores equalling an "A" received the comment "Excellent work." All of women with the *same* "A" grade received the comment "Very good work." Similarly, at the "B" level, men's papers had the comments "Very good work," while women's received "Good work."[92]

> How does a woman gain a sense of her *self* in a system...which devalues work done by women?[93]

One explanation for differential treatment is that women and their activities are often devalued by others and themselves. Despite differences over time and in different places, what is generally viewed as "male" or "masculine" is more valued, and what is viewed as "female" or "feminine" is devalued.

Numerous studies show how gender affects our view of a person's competence and our evaluation of that person's achievements.[94] (These are discussed more fully in relation to faculty in Part IV.)

Typically, two groups of people are asked to rate a set of items, such as a set of articles, pictures of works of art, or resumes. The items are identical, except that the names of the authors or creators are switched for each group, so that those items ascribed to women for the first group are ascribed to men for the second group and vice versa. Items believed to have been created by a male are generally rated higher than the same items believed to have been created by a female. Although both men and women generally rate items ascribed to men higher than those ascribed to females, Haslett, Geis, and Carter note that a few studies show no bias, or occasionally, pro-female bias, especially when the evaluators were of lower status or had less expertise than those who created the products they were evaluating. They conclude, "In contrast, most of the studies in which the evaluators had [relevant] expertise...or were of higher status than the product authors, produced evaluations biased in favor of men."[95] In real life, of course, most evaluators, such as faculty members dealing with students or evaluating colleagues, are presumed to have greater expertise.

The devaluation of the "female" is not limited to formal evaluation. Perception of ability and talent may also be affected by devaluation, as mentioned earlier, so that the same behaviors, traits, and accomplishments may be evaluated differently for men and women. Perceptual bias may be at work when a woman student's success is said to result from "luck," while a male with similar success is said to be "talented." Similarly, the admission of a female or black student to a desired program may be ascribed to "affirmative action," even when it is not the case.

In other words, men's successes are often attributed to *internal*, predictable factors, while women's successes are attributed to *external*, unpredictable, and uncontrollable factors, such as "luck." Consequently, a woman student's qualifications and achievements may not be considered reliable predictors of future success. Male students may be more likely to be accepted or encouraged for their *potential*, while female students who have the same credentials may be considered "not well qualified."[96] Women's abilities may be subject to greater scrutiny or questioning than those of men.

Just as women's abilities are devalued, men's abilities may be overvalued. One woman applicant to graduate school was told her chances were slim, "because the department only took near-geniuses." She reported that almost all of the students were male.

Indeed, devaluation helps explain why identical behavior in men and women may be explained differently. As noted earlier, men may be considered "forthright"

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and "direct," while a woman behaving similarly may be labeled "abrasive." Good decisions men make may be viewed as the result of "good judgement," while similar decisions by women may be attributed to "intuition."

Devaluation can also be expressed through negative body language—turning away, failing to make eye contact, displaying other forms of inattentiveness. Other behaviors that indicate devaluation of women can be so subtle that even if people are consciously aware of devaluation and believe themselves free of such bias, they can still behave in ways that treat men and women differently, and that communicate, however subtly, that men are valued as more important. One of the authors of this report recently noticed, much to her embarrassment, that when she checked her watch during presentations—including presentations about the chilly climate—she would do so *only* when women were talking. She realized she had done this for over twenty years. It was as if she valued men more and would not "interrupt" her attention to them. (Now she looks at her watch only when she herself is speaking.)

Women's accomplishments may be trivialized or their behaviors downgraded even when they are the same as or parallel to those of men:

> A male graduate student who is married with children may be viewed as more "settled," "serious," and "committed." A similarly situated female student may be asked if she can manage school *and* her family.
>
> A female student who cries because of academic pressures may be thought by other students and faculty to be unable to handle stress; a male student who, in response to the same pressures, gets angry or drunk, may be viewed as simply "blowing off steam." The frustrated male student is "one of the guys;" the stressed woman may be avoided or advised to "get out of the kitchen if she can't take the heat."[97]

Devaluation in the classroom and in the larger society can affect women's self-esteem and their aspirations; indeed, some studies suggest that women's self-esteem may drop during college. In one study of high school valedictorians, 23 percent of the males and 21 percent of the females reported they felt intellectually "far above average" compared to their peers. Two years later, 22 percent of the male college students reported feeling intellectually "far above average," compared to only *four* percent of the women. At the end of senior year, 25 percent of the men still felt that they were intellectually above their peers but *not one woman* described herself that way.[98]

Women often internalize society's devaluation, downplaying their accomplishments more often than men do and tending to evaluate their own abilities and performances more disparagingly than do men who achieve at the same level.[99]

Because they receive less praise and feedback both in and out of the classroom, women's self-image suffers. A female graduate student says,

> I never got the sense that I was doing well.... So I guess I bought into what I was told by my male peers: "It must be affirmative action" [that I'm here].[100]

Devaluation is also evident in the trivialization of such women's issues as sexual harassment and discrimination. Women's studies may be disparaged or ridiculed. Issues such as childcare or welfare may be framed exclusively as women's issues rather than human issues and, like other "women's issues" (such as childbirth, mothering, and sexual violence), denigrated, ignored, or belittled. Women faculty may also be devalued. (See section on evaluation of faculty in Part IV.)

Sometimes women's issues or women who have indicated interest or support of feminist issues are devalued. One study showed that women applicants for an MBA program were preferred over applicants who used initials for their first name, but only if the women's applications did not report feminist activity. Similarly, women who had not written a thesis were preferred over women who had written a thesis when the thesis topic involved sex discrimination.[101,102] The implication is that women who study topics of interest to themselves will be downgraded unless men also identify those topics as important.

Men and women students alike may devalue women's speech, women's issues, indeed anything associated with

women. Furthermore, devaluation is not limited to women; for example, racial and ethnic groups, older people, disabled individuals, working-class students, and some persons for whom English is a second language may be similarly devalued.

Women's lower self-esteem may in part account for the ways in which men and women often explain academic difficulties or other problems they face. Men are more likely to blame someone or something other than themselves: a poor teacher, a badly written textbook, difficult subject matter, their own busy schedule—excuses that preserve their sense of self-esteem. Women experiencing similar difficulties are more likely to blame themselves: they were "not smart enough," their studying was not adequate, or they should have devoted more time to the course. Consequently, failure or difficulty often has different meanings for men and women.

DEVALUATION AND POWER

It is not so much the differences *per se* between men and women that make communication between them difficult, *it is the power difference between men and women that gives value to (or devalues) whatever differences exist*. Some differences are neutral. Because eye color, for example, has no power associated with it, the "difference" of eye color is irrelevant, because it neither reinforces nor challenges power.

Stereotypes which reinforce differences between groups are maintained precisely because they do reinforce privilege. Behaviors which are valued (or overvalued), such as competitive, status-seeking behavior, are behaviors that reinforce privilege.[103]

Power and privilege are not distributed evenly across race, ethnicity, gender, age, class, or sexual orientation. A group's power or lack of power affects the classroom environment by replicating our society's power relationships. Our gender and race shape our behavior toward others who are like us and different from us.

Males may clearly reinforce male privilege by their use of space and language. Males typically use physical space more expansively. They take up more room; they may stretch out their legs and drape their arms over chairs—behaviors associated with higher status and dominance. In contrast, women take up less space, they wrap their arms around themselves, keep their hands on their lap, cross their legs close to their chairs.[104]

Males may also assert power and expect to be treated more favorably than females; they may even resent faculty who call on females. In some science classes, men may express their resentment that women are there at all, stating that they are "taking a place away from a guy."

Backlash and resistance to women's issues and women's studies may be explained in part both by devaluation and by perceived threat to male power and privilege. Students may be hostile to such issues concerning women (and to issues involving multiculturalism), in part because these issues challenge established privilege.

The power issue is most clear in peer-to-peer harassment, an issue of increasing frequency and concern on campus. Relationships between men and women are not always positive. Some men may treat women in ways that can only be described as emotional and psychological harassment; they attempt to use their informal power to intimidate women, often, but not always, in a sexual manner.

Although peer harassment occurs more frequently outside the classroom, it can create a campus climate that extends to the classroom. A woman at whom obscenities have been shouted as she passed a fraternity house on her way to her class may be too upset to participate in class. She channels energy that should go into intellectual work instead into anger, anxiety, and sometimes, depression.

Lynn Weber Cannon sums up the implications of the inequalities of power in the classroom:

> ...over time, I gave more and more attention to classroom interaction, which, like all group interactions, is structured by inequalities of power among the participants. They are not random, haphazard, or out of control of the teacher. Our behavior as facul-

> ty members and the way we structure our courses play major roles in the nature of classroom interactions as they unfold throughout the semester: they mimic, reproduce, and with creative management can interrupt, the normal hierarchies of society.[105]

The role of faculty members in the classroom is crucial in identifying and reacting to power differences:

> We are irresponsible [leaders] if we assume males won't assert their status in groups.... We are irresponsible if we put [participants] in any sort of mixed group—whether they be mixed by ethnicity, learning styles, gender, or any other reason—and we don't monitor the group's interaction. We need to watch for status control, dominance by the majority over a minority, dominance by verbal members over silent members."[106]

Most teachers do not recognize male dominance or male power plays in the classroom. Indeed, male privilege may be reinforced by the very nature of the classroom itself.[107] Both men and women learn, often without knowing it, that men have more power and privilege than women.

THE NATURE OF THE CLASSROOM

The Problem of Numbers

The chilly climate sometimes begins with the problem of numbers.[108] Although women undergraduates are in the majority on campus, they are sometimes few in number in male-dominated fields such as the hard sciences and engineering, where they are more visible individually and subject to greater scrutiny than their male counterparts. One graduate woman student described her feelings:

> Since women are such a striking minority, any time one of us comments or raises a hand, it is very noticeable. For those who thrive in the spotlight, this is beneficial, but the worry that any mistake will be very noticeable makes being vocal frightening for some of us.[109]

Another said:

> ...one constantly feels the pressure of a double-edged sword: simultaneously, a perverse visibility and a convenient invisibility. The small number [of Black women] makes it easy for others to ignore our presence, or be aware of it.[110]

Generally, the smaller the number of women the greater the likelihood that they will be considered tokens, viewed in relationship to stereotypes of typical female social roles (lover, wife, daughter, hostess), not as individual students with intellectual abilities.

Feelings of isolation from other students are often exacerbated when the number of women is small. Moreover, many of the ways in which some men treat women negatively, such as ignoring or acting hostile to them, may increase in predominantly male settings and intensify women's feelings of isolation there. For example, women students may be even more fully excluded from informal conversations and study groups when their numbers are few.

The Absence of Women Faculty

Much has been written about the importance of female role models for women students. Although there are often many female faculty at the high school level, at the university level, the percentage of women faculty is substantially less. In college, women may suddenly find themselves in an environment with far fewer strong female models.

Unfortunately, it is still possible for students in some coeducational institutions to obtain an undergraduate degree without ever having studied with a tenured woman professor or even with any female faculty members at all.

FACULTY BY GENDER

Men are 67.5 percent of faculty; women, 32.5 percent. The figures by race and gender are as follows:

	Men	Women
White	58.9%	27.9%
Black	2.6%	2.3%
Asian	4.0%	1.3%
Hispanic	1.7%	.8%
Native American	.3%	.2%

The higher the rank, the fewer the women. Women outnumber men only at the lowest rank—that of lecturer, where 64 percent of the full-time lecturers are women. White men hold 75.7 percent of full professorships; white women hold 14.3 percent. People of color are less than 12 percent of all faculty; women of color hold less than 5 percent of faculty positions.[111]

INTERSECTIONS— DIFFERENCE MATTERS

In the real world, issues of gender and race must be addressed simultaneously, so we have incorporated our understanding of these intersections throughout this report. In this section, however, we consider the impact of difference and the need to recognize it as an issue in its own right.

We have already discussed many of the hidden assumptions about women. Similar assumptions are made about people of color: whites are supposedly considered "better" and more competent than African American, Hispanic, and Native American people; people of color who are bright are considered exceptions to the rule.

Do we make racist assumptions about the ability of women of color? Do we make monolithic assumptions about race and ethnicity that deny the existence and concerns of biracial and multiethnic students? Do we make ageist assumptions about women returning to school? Do we assume that all our students are heterosexual? As we ask ourselves these questions, we can consider whether the diversity of our classrooms is reflected in our course syllabi, examples, and language.

Who we teach requires attention to the differences among us: they are real and they matter. In fact, "we cannot set aside the social relationships of the larger world—a world in which classifications of gender, race, and class are among the most paramount—as we take up the more temporary relationships of professor and students."[112] It is not enough to simply accept differences. We must also acknowledge and respect them.

Many people who do not want to perpetuate sexist and racist behavior make statements such as "Gender doesn't matter," and "I do not see race when I teach." Although such statements reveal the best of intentions (an attempt to treat all students equally), they also reveal a lack of understanding of the many ways in which gender and race bias manifest themselves in a classroom.[113] It is increasingly clear that simply "ignoring" difference is often inappropriate, ineffective, and sometimes even offensive. Why?

Often when we are "not noticing" difference in gender or race, we are also "not noticing" that we may be inadvertently excluding people of color and white women from our teaching. Curriculum, pedagogy, language, and teacher behavior typically convey hidden assumptions about gender, race, ethnicity, and other differences.

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Many students are sometimes aware of how their gender, race, ethnicity, class, age, sexual orientation, and/or physical ability affect their lives. But those who are white and/or male may be less likely to recognize how their race or gender privileges them. If you ask students to write down the three personal characteristics that have had the most important influence on their lives, women often mention their gender and people of color often mention their race or ethnicity. White people rarely mention their "whiteness" or their race, nor males their gender as being important, in part, perhaps, because it is so taken for granted that one hardly notices the benefits that being white or male bring.[14]

Who we teach is as important as, if not more important than, *what* or *how*. The marginalizing of women along with differential treatment is "increased geometrically for women who are not white, born in the country they teach, heterosexual, able-bodied, or [who are] older than the average woman at their academic level."[15]

Women of Color

While the literature has paid much attention to women as a group and people of color as another group, until the early 1980s, relatively little had been written about women of color as a separate group, distinct from white women and men of color. Although some have noted that these women face "double discrimination," it would be more accurate to say that the experiences of women of color are not based merely on the addition of race plus gender, but that these characteristics intersect and create a new singularity. Thus there are separate stereotypes, assumptions, and experiences unique to women of color:

• Just as the *same* behavior in men and women is often perceived differently, the *same* behavior in white women and women of color may be viewed differently. Reticence or non-participation in a class may be seen as shyness in a white female, as passivity in an Asian American or Native American, or as rudeness or silent rejection in an African American woman.

• Faculty may be less successful working with women of color not only because of inaccurate assumptions, but also because of divergent communication styles and differences in value systems. For example, an Asian American woman may feel that it is "shameful" and "immodest" to verbalize her accomplishments, to make eye contact, to adopt a relaxed demeanor, or to "impose" on a faculty member for consultation or help unless the faculty member specifically states that students are expected to do so.

• Still another problem women of color face is isolation. Just as white women students are generally more comfortable with women faculty, women of color are often more comfortable with minority faculty and especially minority women faculty. Given the low numbers of minority faculty, women of color often feel separate and alone; their sense of isolation is compounded when they have few role models and fewer peers with whom to interact. White women and white men, and sometimes men of color, may exclude women of color from formal or informal interaction.

• Faculty may also inadvertently exclude women of color from informal extracurricular activities which involve other students.

• African American and Hispanic women may be viewed as more sexual than women of other races. Asian American women may be viewed as "exotic erotics." Friendly behavior may be misperceived by faculty members as a sexual overture.

• Women of color, especially African American women, are erroneously believed to have "made it" and to encounter little difficulty in finding success.

• The devaluation that women in general experience is exacerbated for women of color. One can sometimes see this when women of color are discouraged from choosing research topics or independent study projects that focus on issues of special concern to women of color.

• The problems of women of color may be thought to be no different from those of white women or men of

color. Having addressed "women's issues" and/or "minority issues" in class, faculty members may thus see no need to address women of color.

• It is hard to separate racism and sexism when they are combined. Consider the comment, "Black bitch." Clearly, racial and sexual stereotypes work together to reinforce negative images of women of color.

• Women of color may be treated differently on the basis of their gender by male faculty members of color, and differently on the basis of the race and gender by white faculty members of both genders. One African American reentry female student noted, "...some Black male professors have the same value system as do white males regarding the role of women."[116]

• Some women of color may be afraid to ask for help for fear that doing so might confirm the stereotype that they are ill-prepared or less able.[117] They may also feel they must "do it on their own."[118] They may be concerned that, if less than stellar, their performance may reflect badly on all women or people of color.

• Feelings about classroom participation vary by gender and ethnic group; in one study, "American Indian, Latino, Asian-American students (particularly women) mentioned cultural prescriptions against speaking up which carried over to classroom interactions."[119] Most said they were more likely to participate when material was culture-specific, but did not want to be singled out as spokespersons for their race.[120] They also reported they were *discouraged* by an instructor who was not listening, ignored the content of their speech, interrupted them, expected them not to be prepared, and expressed surprise when they did well.[121]

• Minority students often experience a clash between the cultures of home and school. Some scholars claim that the pressure to speak in class may put an undue burden on students who are uncomfortable with public speaking for a variety of reasons, some of which may be cultural. For example, some Native Americans may consider class participation "showing off" and believe that one incurs shame by responding incorrectly. Should such beliefs lead to reticence in the classroom, this reticence may be erroneously interpreted as shyness or failure to cooperate.[122] Some students feel that faculty members hold cultural stereotypes about them and therefore do not expect them to participate, set up self-fulfilling prophecies, and do not encourage them to participate.[123]

• While many women of color face numerous challenges, not all do, nor do all have special needs. Nevertheless, professors should be aware of additional stressors and issues which may affect the college experiences of students of color, particularly women.

Lesbian Women

> The professor asked everyone to describe themselves. Many female students mentioned a boyfriend or a husband. I could not comfortably disclose that my significant other is a woman.[124]

Homophobia has a negative impact on *all* students. The term "lesbian" is often used disparagingly and in a hostile manner to denigrate women who are assertive or who otherwise do not seem overly concerned with the approval and acceptance of their male peers and professors. Fear of being called a "lesbian" can inhibit some women from acting in a nonstereotyped manner.

Lesbians are likely to experience a profound invisibility. Lesbians and bisexual women are also silenced by the pejorative use of the term "lesbian." When a professor or student calls another student "gay" or "queer," he or she furthers negative connotations associated with homosexual individuals.

It is more often the case that homosexuality goes unmentioned in most college courses. Omission of discussion of homosexuality perpetuates inaccurate stereotypes of lesbians and, in turn, validates prejudice against them. To "omit lesbians and homosexuality from our courses is as much a political message as is our inclusion of feminism or any other guiding ideology."[125]

Some professors fail to acknowledge the sexual orientation of authors, scientists, or historical figures discussed in their courses; many professors make, or allow students to make, heterosexist comments that assume all students

are heterosexual. The latter may include clearly offensive homophobic jokes or more subtle comments which imply that all non-married students are "single," which leaves lesbians in committed long-term relationships with no language to accurately describe their "non-single" status.

Some professors may feel that the mention of homosexuality is extraneous. It is unlikely though that those same people would consider irrelevant the relationship between an author's race and his writings, between a politician's lower-class origins and her views of domestic and foreign policy, or between a disabled person's view of health care and his or her lived experience.

Not only is sexual orientation relevant to the accuracy of course content, its inclusion signals to all students that institutions of higher learning welcome students in all their diversity.

Older Women

Older women are often singled out or otherwise treated differently in the classroom, although a number of institutions have shifted their focus and developed programs appropriate to adult learners. Although one of the fastest-growing groups of students, older women are often treated differently because some faculty and students still perceive them as bored, middle-aged housewives who have nothing else to do with their lives or who haven't received their education in a timely way. This is more likely to occur in institutions where older and traditional-age students are mixed, and where older women students are a small minority.

Many are assumed to be middle-class especially if they are white, and to be working-class if they are women of color. Whether beginning undergraduate study, continuing their undergraduate education, or pursuing a graduate degree, they may be devalued not only because of gender and age, but sometimes because they attend school part time and some faculty consider part-time study a lack of commitment. Yet most are in school for the same reasons as younger students and as men: to learn and to better their economic prospects. They are often highly motivated, balance work and family, and do well in school.

Some faculty members are uncomfortable with women students who are older than they are. They know how to treat younger students but are unsure how to respond to a student who may be old enough to be their mother. They may be less willing to mentor or invest in a student they perceive to have a shorter projected career life than younger students.[126]

Some students are also uncomfortable with older women students, partly for the same reasons. They too may be unsure how to respond as a peer to someone perhaps old enough to be their mother. They may worry that older students are smarter and will show them up in class.

Discomfort with or dislike of older women students is evident when faculty members adopt a patronizing tone in responding to their comments or questions. Sometimes faculty members suggest that older women should not be in school but at home with their families. Students may make similar statements.

Women With Disabilities

Women with disabilities often encounter stereotypes based on both their gender and their disability, and must cope with even greater social and institutional "invisibility" than most other women. On the one hand, their disability may make them uniquely visible; all people see is the disability. On the other hand, people may feel discomfort with the disability and simply ignore disabled people. Women with disabilities experience even greater invisibility than women in general. Lacking understanding of, or experience with, the capabilities and feelings of disabled women, faculty members and students may feel uncomfortable dealing with them on a one-to-one basis.

Disabled women may thus be even less likely to be called upon in the classroom, less likely to be challenged intellectually than others. Students and faculty may have difficulty even making eye contact. Faculty members may over-explain or talk in a patronizing tone, behaving as if the disabled woman were a child.

Sometimes people talk loudly to a person who is visually impaired or engage in other behaviors that seem

based on the misperception that a person with an impairment in one function suffers impairment in other physical functions as well. For the same reason, disabled women may be helped more than needed, instead of on the basis of their actual capabilities.

For similar reasons, faculty members and others may only suggest a very narrow range of career options for them or no career options at all, focusing instead on a woman's limitations, not her interests, abilities, and strengths.

WOMEN IN SCIENCE

All of the problems described earlier in this report are relevant, and many are exacerbated, for women in science, particularly because they are in the minority and because the sciences, mathematics, and engineering have long been considered "male" territory. Moreover, most of the senior faculty and many of the younger ones studied science when women were a rarity in most science fields. Thus they may be even more likely to perceive women as outsiders, to treat them as tokens, and to give them less attention than their male peers in the sciences. Overt sexism may be exhibited not only by faculty but also by fellow students:

> The daily grind of small jokes and demeaning comments as well as aloofness on the part of teachers is discouraging to the majority of women....[127]

Overt hostility, such as deliberately ruining a woman's experiment, can occur. Comments about a woman not belonging in the department or school are still heard, increasing women's sense of isolation and of being outsiders.

Women students may be treated differently in a number of ways:

- Women may be asked to take on the stereotyped role of secretary, to serve as recorder of an experiment while men conduct it and obtain hands-on experience. Faculty and male students may both ask women to do routine tasks in the experiment, instead of encouraging them to do original research or offer substantive critiques.

A FEMALE PHYSICS MAJOR AT DUKE UNIVERSITY, 1993-1995

Her high school valedictorian, she won a scholarship to Duke University. She declared physics as her probable major and signed up for a physics course for physics majors. The day before the course, an administrator called to ask, "Are you sure you want to take this class? It's very difficult—for probable majors only." Later she found out she was the only student who received such a call, and the only woman entering Duke to declare physics as her probable major.

On a physics test, her professor included the following example:

> Starting with the lungs and using Bernoulli's equation, describe in full physical detail the production of the sound 'Ohhh' by our lone sophomore female physics major. An anatomical sketch would be helpful.

Another teacher passed around an X-ray of a woman's breasts.

On the first day of a physics class in which she was the only female, the first words spoken to her were, "Don't you feel out of place?"

Her grades at the end of her sophomore year were A, A, A, A-, and B+. She decided not to major in physics.[128]

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• Faculty may be less willing to work with women students on independent study projects, in part because they may see women as having less potential, they may not feel comfortable with women, or they may worry that women will misinterpret their behavior as sexual harassment.

• Faculty may be less likely to invite female students to share research, publishing, and conference presentations. Male students may similarly exclude women from study groups and project teams at both the graduate and undergraduate level.

• Some men find it difficult to work with women and may try to dominate them or treat them like dates, rather than working with them as equal partners in an experiment.

• Laboratory and field work may be settings for sexual harassment, sometimes by the research or teaching assistant in charge. In some instances women have been so intimidated that they have avoided labs in the evenings unless accompanied by a friend.

The nature of the subject matter of the sciences and the traditional ways in which the sciences are taught may be inhospitable to many women. As mentioned earlier, competitive and authoritarian methods often turn off women, especially in science. To the extent the values and structure of science emphasize hierarchy, individual prowess, impersonal relationships, and highly assertive behavior instead of cooperation, science may seem chilly to women.[129]

For example, if the accepted way to gain access to computer terminals is to be physically and verbally aggressive, as was the case at one school, many women will be at a disadvantage.[130]

> The atmosphere in many popular and overcrowded science classes, as well as in law, is described as being akin to "boot camp." Women are often unprepared for and/or unwilling to put up with such "weeding out" techniques, as indeed are some men. Whether this type of atmosphere is crucial for the training of professionals can be debated. The question remains as to whether more women would be attracted to these fields if they were not so alienating in nature.[131]

What happens at the departmental level may also be crucial. The climate within a particular department can either exacerbate or mediate other factors affecting women in the sciences.[132]

Many faculty do not incorporate the work of women scientists into the curriculum, although an occasional woman of exceptional talent may be mentioned in a science class. Some textbooks and class materials may be overtly sexist; one still hears, for example, of science classes in which a slide of a naked or nearly naked woman is interspersed in a presentation, ostensibly to liven up the class.

The focus of science may also be important. A classroom that uses experiments and examples related primarily to the military and war may not be as appealing to women students as one in which social problems are explored. It is interesting to note, for example, that the sciences with the highest proportions of women, such as biology and other life sciences, are those where the usefulness of the research to human life is more apparent.

Differences in the ways men and women may approach problems may be more important than is readily apparent. For example, Rosser, who has studied the issue of women in science extensively, notes the average female may be better able to deal with complex problems and ambiguity, while the average male may be more comfortable dealing with problems that have one correct or concrete answer. Rosser adds:

> Thus, females are more likely to feel comfortable in approaching problems and laboratory experiments if they understand the relationship of the particular problem or experiment to the broader context of the bigger problem of which this solution may be a small part. The high attrition rate of women from science majors after their first course despite good grades...may be explained partially by the fact that introductory courses may be pitched more toward the limited one-correct-answer approach, which favors traditional-aged male college freshmen.[133]

Sometimes problems in science may be couched in terms that are more familiar to males: using combustion engines or torsion springs in examples—items with which men may have had more hands-on experience than women.

To the extent that they are more likely to consider raising of children as they evaluate potential careers, women may feel that science is not compatible with raising a family. The absence of female role models—faculty who have successfully combined career and family—can confirm their misperception that a career in science is incompatible with family life.

Especially at the graduate level, where their numbers are even smaller than at the undergraduate level, women students may feel isolated both from other students and from faculty.

Because women are few in number and because the sciences are more "masculine" than other subjects, taking courses in science or majoring in science may be more stressful than taking courses or majoring in other fields.

> We posit that entry to freshman science, mathematics or engineering suddenly makes explicit, and then heightens, what is actually a long-standing divergence in the socialization experiences of young men and women. The divergence in self-perceptions, attitudes, life and career goals, customary ways of learning, and of responding to problems, which has been built up along gender lines throughout childhood and adolescence, is suddenly brought into focus.[134]

Essentially, men and women, Rosser concludes, are part of an educational system which supports the ongoing socialization of only one group, white men.

TEXTBOOKS IN ALL FIELDS

Although it is well beyond the scope of this report to examine the issue of textbooks, textbooks can contribute to a chilly climate. Sometimes it is the absence of women either as contributors or as subject matter. Thus an edited book may have no women authors. A text about social movements and civil rights may not cover the women's rights movement. Sometimes it is the use of the so-called generic pronoun "he" rather than the inclusive "he or she." Sometimes it is the way in which women are presented. One student describes a psychology textbook: "Almost all of the pictures [in the text] are of males until the neuroses section."[135] Stereotypes are common. Women of color may be totally absent. A number of studies document gender and race bias in textbooks.[136]

PART II

PEDAGOGY AND THE CLASSROOM

CLASSROOM STYLE

Although many teachers are not authoritarian, the vast majority of classrooms are basically hierarchical in nature. Even though teachers may go out of their way to be informal, friendly, and caring with their students, teachers determine the topics, format, sequence of ideas, and class discussion. They do most of the talking and, in part, by their actions, determine which students will participate. Most classrooms are arranged in formal rows; some have raised platforms for faculty.[1] Comments are typically addressed to the faculty member rather than to other students. Teachers typically talk three times as much as students in their classrooms.[2]

The customs and standards of talk in the classroom are far more hospitable to men's speech preferences than to those of women.[3] Some scholars argue that "verbal jousting, the continual marking of hierarchies, the efforts to wield control, the declarations of fact and opinion that one finds more often in all-male groups—and in college classrooms—may be especially alienating to women."[4]

Many classes follow a debate-like format:

> ...our educational system is fundamentally male in that the pursuit of knowledge is believed to be achieved by ritual opposition—public display followed by argument and challenge—which is fundamental to the way males approach almost any activity.... But ritual opposition is antithetical to the way most females learn and like to interact. It's not that females don't fight but that they don't fight for fun. They don't ritualize opposition.[5]

Kramarae and Treichler quote two students:

> [I enjoy classes when] I attack the teacher's ideas and the teacher attacks mine, without any sense of ill feeling. (male student)[6]

> Because the discussion tends to occur on two levels, I find it cautionary not to join in. At a surface level there is a call to interact freely and openly, but there seems to be an underlying tension or competition over which reading will emerge victorious.... Students don't explore each other's positions or ideas so much as they vie for attention and compete to get their own ideas heard. (female student)[7]

Most students believe that when they speak they must take a stand and display their own knowledge,

rather than express what they want to learn.[8] More men than women are likely to find this style of teaching invigorating, relishing the combativeness and competition, enjoying the chance to test themselves against the faculty member and each other and savoring a good argument. The teacher's behavior may involve helping students take sides and defend their positions; the teacher may attack the students' positions.

But this style of teaching may turn off some students, often women, and leave them feeling inadequate, especially those less willing to take a specific position on an issue, perhaps because they are unsure and reluctant to take risks, less willing to expose themselves to attack by fellow students or the teacher, or because they see both sides of an issue in a setting where there is only one seemingly "right" answer.

In general, women may not benefit as much as men in a competitive learning environment based on an adversarial model of learning in which points are debated and defended.[9] In such an environment, typical teaching behaviors reward autonomy, objectivity, and competition, and pay less attention to behaviors that build consensus or synthesis. Teaching behaviors do not generally reward those who are gentle, altruistic, and able to put the welfare of others above themselves—all socially desirable attributes we tend to associate with femaleness.[10]

In many classrooms, speech that expresses a lack of intellectual certainty or is about personal experiences and emotions is less valued and often devalued: e.g., male students and faculty may find the inclusion of personal anecdotes irrelevant and "soft," especially when expressed by a woman. Yet many women may use anecdotes or personal experience as a way to make connections between themselves and what they are learning. Such behavior perhaps indicates a higher level of abstract thinking because it helps forge new links between the self and current and past knowledge.

How do women respond when the very climate of the classroom is considered inhospitable? Some become silent.[11] Some "assimilate;" they change their style in order to participate and be heard. In contrast, men generally need not change their style in order to comfortably participate, because classroom style is more closely aligned with men's patterns of speech and dialogue.[12]

> Women students have traditionally blamed themselves for feeling alienated and silenced in classroom discussion.... Women students are studying and learning in a male-voiced society and are being trained to speak a language which is based on male values and styles of engagement, a language in which women's values and styles of engagement are devalued.[13]

Unaware of the impact of a multitude of classroom behaviors, teaching styles, and a curriculum that excludes them, women may conclude that their lack of participation or "inadequate" participation in an inhospitable climate originates from themselves; subsequently, their self-esteem suffers.

Kramarae and Treichler delineate the differences between male and female reactions to different teaching styles:

> Women are seemingly more concerned than are the men with the teaching/learning process and attend more to the personal experiences of other students.... They consider the openness and supportiveness of the instructor the salient factor in determining whether they feel comfortable about talking in class and give more importance than do men to the teacher's attempts to ensure that class members feel good about each other. Women are likely to report enjoyment of classes in which students and teacher talk in a collaborative manner, rather than in student-to-teacher and teacher-to-student monologues.[14]

> [Men] report more concern than do the women with their own active participation in class and more interest in teacher control over classroom discussion; they express more interest in teachers who organize most of the class content through lectures and who encourage questions and comments from individual students. Men are more likely than women to attribute the amount and kind of their class talk to their interests and ideas, rather than to teacher behavior.[15]

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A comment from a female student indicates the different responses men and women can have to the same teaching style, but this time, in response to a classroom which was less competitive and more participatory and collaborative.

> It was just wonderful. There were integrated, reciprocal, co-existing dialogues happening most of the time. There were people interrupting people and there were all kinds of things happening. The dialogues, the interaction, was [sic] in sync so I was very comfortable. But some people told me they were confused and one man said, "Look, at least in other classrooms I know what is right and I know what is wrong, and I can't deal with this." He just didn't show up any more. I [think] it is okay to enter into a dialogue and be confused and go through it. But our educational system doesn't allow this.[16]

These comments also raise a dilemma that concerned teachers face: if women are often uncomfortable with a competitive classroom, and men are often uncomfortable in a collaborative classroom, how shall faculty members design their classes? What kind of classroom would be productive for women and men? And what about those women and men who do not fit these generalizations?

General research on pedagogy demonstrates that a variety of teaching models can be effective, and that some styles are more effective for certain types of material and for particular kinds of learners. For example, some students may have better auditory skills and learn better from a lecture; others may learn more easily with extensive visual materials.

A classroom which engages in more than one style of discourse is one which values the advantages of a variety of styles of information exchange, one in which benefits accrue to all students. Just as all students must learn to formulate and defend arguments, they also need to learn how to use more exploratory, collaborative speech and to improve their ability to listen, work in groups, build on the ideas of others, and produce a product based upon the talents of more than one.

How a class is taught has a profound impact on whether the classroom is chilly. The influence of pedagogy on the involvement of women in the classroom is critical; in fact, teaching style can be among the most influential factors enhancing their participation. In discussing classroom climate, we have chosen to examine two pedagogical themes: theories of feminist pedagogy and theories associated with cooperative or collaborative learning.

Many teachers of women's studies have developed strategies and techniques to involve students, primarily women, in the learning process. Often unknown beyond women's studies circles, these strategies offer effective teaching and learning techniques for all students, especially those who may not participate for a variety of reasons. While some perceive feminist pedagogy and collaborative learning to have emerged independently, the two share an emphasis on collaboration and the valuing of individual contributions as they enhance a group's learning and work product.

FEMINIST PEDAGOGY

Collaborative learning has been an important component in the development not only of mainstream pedagogy but also of feminist pedagogy. Feminist pedagogy, sometimes overlooked by mainstream pedagogical thinkers, expands the notion of collaborative learning, particularly as it applies to women. It envisions a collaborative relationship in which students become self-directed learners.

Faculty who aim for a balance between connected and more solitary and abstract learning are more likely to enhance the learning of a larger proportion of students. When faculty draw on a range of teaching styles, they are more likely to match the learning styles of diverse students and not to require all students to adapt to a dominant style.[17]

Feminist pedagogy has many bases, including the women's movement, the progressive educational theory of John Dewey, theories of collaborative learning, and the liberatory teaching espoused by Paolo Friere.[18]

Although all these developments in educational theory and practice focus on empowering students to be more active learners, they have neglected gender and race:

> In all of the important material written about teaching in the 1960s and 1970s—liberal, progressive, even radical; from Carl Rogers to Paolo Friere, Kozol to Katz—one crucial dimension is missing. None of the discussions of teacher, student, facilitator or learner is gender- or race-specific. And if we are to understand more fully the energy and power of the feminist classroom, we must begin with a focus on this missing information—the gender and race of those participating in the process.[19]

Feminist theory and pedagogy have been developed by communication among female faculty, students, and learners who were experiencing similar theoretical, political, and pedagogical "dissonance" with what the "founding fathers" had conceptualized as a pedagogy for self and social empowerment.[20] Feminists began to ask the question: What difference does it make if the students you empower are women? Feminist theory and pedagogy are distinct in their focus on women and women's diversity of experience, how those experiences contextualize and inform knowledge, and how the classroom can be constructed to involve students as teacher-learners and invite them to be active participants in their own education.

Common Themes

It is probably more appropriate to speak of feminist pedagogies, as there is no monolithic theory, but many shared tenets. Following is a list—not exhaustive—of common themes in feminist pedagogy.[21]

Neutrality

Feminist pedagogy challenges positivism and empiricism and avers that no education is neutral or value-free.[22]

> The traditional mode of university teaching, that of the lecture, presumes that an expert will present to the students an "objective, rationally derived and empirically proven set of information...this mode, no matter how complete, can only reflect one version (usually the one dominant in the culture)."[23]

Feminist pedagogy explores the standpoints of speakers, origins of theories, and the influence of context on the formation of knowledge.

Experience

Feminist pedagogy considers personal biography and experience important to learning; it legitimates life experience as an appropriate subject of intellectual inquiry. It also assumes that students learn better when they recognize the relevance of material to their lives.[24]

> Academic disciplines ignore and distort the experience of women, structuring their concept and subject-matter around male-derived norms.... The dominant pedagogical style of most classrooms discriminates against women's experience and participation in a variety of ways, all of which reinforce female passivity.[25]

Inclusion

Feminist pedagogy is committed to building a perspective that explores the interlocking systems of bias based on sex, race, and class,[26] challenging politics of domination not only of gender but of race, class, and ethnicity.[27] Thus, where appropriate, the syllabus is conscious of gender, race, class, and ethnicity. An important focus is to help change students' negative attitudes about women, including women's negative attitudes about themselves.[28]

Non-Hierarchical Classrooms

Berry notes that feminist pedagogy relies on a non-hierarchical classroom which produces and shares knowledge, rather than simply communicating knowledge from professor to student.[29]

Just as feminist scholarship calls into question the existence of a single body of truth to be passed on, feminist pedagogy questions the assumption that in fact the sole purpose of a classroom is the transmission of information from professor to student. Feminist pedagogy views the learning process as much more interactive, and imbues the students with more authority to construct knowledge than a traditional lecture format might do.

Empowering Students—Participation

One of the central aims of feminist pedagogy is to empower students in the learning process.[30] Feminist pedagogy emphasizes students' active participation. Many strategies, both individual and collaborative, have been devised to increase student participation, including the use of personal anecdotes as a way to connect learning to a student's experiences.

> Feminist pedagogy is related to other reforms in general education. The feminist concept of empowering student learners is in some respects similar to the general education concept of encouraging active student learning.... Feminist pedagogy, however, would deemphasize the role of teacher as mentor, encouraging students to become their own mentors instead.[31]

The Authority of the Teacher

A classroom which validates the personal, challenges the androcentric, reorganizes the classroom, and empowers its students is in fact a radical departure from the model with which most of us are familiar. It raises questions such as: What is the role of the professor in a feminist classroom? How does a teacher who seeks to avoid supporting or creating hierarchical relationships exert authority in the classroom? Must the teacher relinquish all authority?

Most feminist pedagogy assumes an enhanced role for the student. Common views on the teacher's role vary from a traditional "talking head" model to one that encourages student questions to one which describes the professor as a "facilitator of discussion among equals." While feminist pedagogy includes finding more active roles for students, it does not necessarily call for a diminished role for the teacher, just a different one. Although some suggest the teacher's power should be abandoned, others claim that an "empowering pedagogy does not dissolve the authority or the power of the instructor."[32]

If there is a compromise, it seems to lie in recognizing a teacher's knowledge and experience in a particular area,[33] while affirming the validity of students' experience and knowledge in the same area. Culley suggests the feminist teacher "seeks authority with, not authority over students."[34] Teachers might try what Belenky et al. call "connected teaching," a method of facilitating a class as a "midwife teacher" who draws out knowledge, as opposed to the direct-deposit method of "banker-teachers," who disseminate information in lecture format.[35]

Teachers can strive to share expertise and challenge students without reproducing a patriarchal pedagogy.[36] Cannon claims professors should *use* their legitimate power to create a learning environment which does not replicate power imbalances that exist in society.[37] She assumes that without faculty intervention, such imbalances will be brought into the classroom.

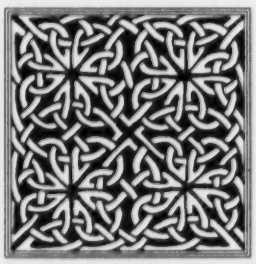
While many students may feel liberated if a teacher shares power in the classroom, others may be so accustomed to the teacher as authority that they are perplexed and uncomfortable. Teachers who have assumed the role of facilitator or resource person have found that students often bestow on them the authority of "the" expert, despite their efforts to avoid it.[38]

COLLABORATIVE LEARNING

> Instructors can choose whether to be "a sage on the stage" or "a guide on the side...." In doing so, they might remember that the challenge in college teaching is not simply covering the material but uncovering it.[39]

Some people use the terms "collaborative learning" and "cooperative learning" interchangeably; others make distinctions between the two. In this report, we have generally chosen to use "collaborative" to refer to learning accomplished when students work together.[40]

Student interaction in the classroom can be structured individually, competitively, or collaboratively; learning outcomes differ according to these variations in classroom goals and structures.



WOMEN'S WAYS OF KNOWING

Some scholars suggest that women, as a group, may have "ways of knowing" different from those of men. In the 1986 book *Women's Ways of Knowing*, authors Belenky et al. suggest that many women feel alienated in academic settings and find formal education peripheral to their lives.[41] The authors do not believe that women are uninterested in learning or that they do not have the capability to learn, but rather that men and women as groups may have a tendency to experience learning differently. They suggest that educational approaches more aligned with women's development might make education a less alienating experience and may help female students fulfill their potential, enabling them to *learn* rather than encouraging them to *overcome barriers*.

This line of thought has gained momentum in the last decade in part as a result of the work of psychologist Carol Gilligan, who in the early 1980s challenged the moral reasoning theories of Kohlberg.[42]

She developed an alternative to his "rights" morality, which describes how people make decisions based upon rights, abstract laws, and universal principles. She proposed that some people, mostly women, operate within a morality of responsibility and care, making moral choices after weighing the experiences of all parties involved. For example, in some instances, women were more likely to believe that stealing might be justified, even if it is against the law, as in the case of a poor man who steals medicine to save his wife's life. Gilligan's theories set the groundwork for her related work on identity development, which shows that the "responsibility orientation" is more central to those whose conceptions of self are rooted in a sense of moral connection, while the "rights orientation" is more common among those who define themselves in terms of separateness and autonomy.[43] While these differences do not necessarily divide along gender lines, Gilligan's research suggests many more women than men define themselves in terms of their connection to others. Gilligan's introduction of alternative epistemological frameworks has the potential to reshape our concepts of teaching and learning.

Building on Gilligan's work, Belenky et al. identify alternat e frameworks to describe women's perspectives in educational settings. They describe five women's "ways" of knowing to explain the stages from which women view and know the world.[44]

Silence. A position in which women experience themselves as essentially mindless and voiceless, subject to the whims of external authority.

Received knowledge. A perspective from which women conceive of themselves as capable of receiving, even reproducing, knowledge from all-knowing external authorities but not capable of creating knowledge on their own.

Subjective knowledge. A perspective from which truth and knowledge are conceived of as personal, private, and subjectively known or intuited.

Procedural knowledge. A position in which women are invested in learning and applying objective procedures for obtaining and communicating knowledge.

Constructed knowledge. A position in which women view all knowledge as contextual, experience themselves as creators of knowledge, and value both subjective and objective strategies for knowing.

Belenky et al. do not claim there is a biological link to these learning patterns, but that gender socialization has produced varied patterns in the experiences of men and women, including learning experiences. They propose that women tend to operate in one learning paradigm, while conventional educational practice favors another, and they further theorize that when the women's mode is treated as a deficit, women come to believe they are not as competent as men. The devaluation of this type of "knowing" most likely discourages men from cultivating such skills.[45]

Some scholars hesitate to accept the validity and prudence of advancing a "women's way" of viewing the world or constructing knowledge. They conclude that such a view reinforces a belief that women are deficient in some manner and are ill-equipped to compete with men in learning. And they contend that broad generalizations about culturally different learning styles can too easily be misunderstood as euphemisms for deficits calling for remediation or acculturation of the student rather than for flexibility and responsiveness from the college instructor.[46]

Others believe that the work in this area documents the existence of a learning style more common to women than men. And although disagreement remains, there is some consensus that some learning behaviors seem to be gender related.

At least one college has applied this research to their curriculum. Ursuline College, a women's college in Ohio, has revamped the core curriculum and trained their faculty within the context of the conclusions reached in *Women's Ways of Knowing* and their own experience teaching generations of female students. The curriculum addresses conditions more likely to be found among women students, including discomfort with argumentative style discussions and a tendency to defer to authority.[47] It is designed to help students, male and female, navigate through the stages Belenky et al. outline. Although the program has not yet been fully evaluated, Ursuline officials suggest the "inclusiveness" of its curriculum innovation is the crucial component of its success, not simply its derivation from a "female" way of knowing.[48]

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In individual settings, where one is encouraged not to compare their work to that of their peers, students are given the message that their learning is unrelated to what other students do.

In competitive settings, students perceive that they can only obtain their goals if others fail.

In cooperative environments, individuals seek outcomes beneficial to themselves and others and thus can reach their goals for learning only if other team members do as well.[59]

What Is Collaborative Learning?

Simply stated, collaborative learning is "the instructional use of small groups so that students work together to maximize their own and each other's learning."[60] These effects are not the automatic result of placing students in groups—situating students in circles or side by side or having them converse over individual assignments. These activities need to be structured. In truly collaborative learning a group's members must

- Have clear, positive interdependence
- Promote each other's learning and success
- Hold each other personally and individually accountable to do a fair share of the work
- Use the interpersonal and small-group skills needed for cooperative efforts to be successful
- Process as a group how effectively members are working together.[61]

Collaborative learning can be used to teach specific content and problem-solving skills, ensure cognitive processing, and provide long-term support and assistance for academic progress.[62] Good cooperative learning is structured to ensure that all students contribute and that no single student does all the work.

Advantages of Collaborative Learning Environments

One of the most undisputed advances made in pedagogy in the last decade has been the practice of collaborative learning strategies. Johnson et al. summarize a wide body of research demonstrating how, in contrast to competitive or individualistic learning, collaborative learning can result in[63]

- Higher achievement
- Better positive relationships and respect among students and healthier psychological adjustment
- Greater use of higher-level cognitive and reasoning skills
- Increased self-esteem
- More positive attitudes toward subject matter
- Motivation to learn more about the subjects
- Decreased absenteeism[64]
- Greater willingness to take on difficult tasks
- Increased motivation and persistence.

Increased rates of retention and persistence to graduation, particularly for minority students, have also been linked with collaborative learning.[65] Some faculty report that after they used collaborative strategies in the classroom, their students demonstrated more enjoyment of and satisfaction with their classes and were more likely to visit them in their offices.[66]

In over 375 studies conducted in the past 90 years, cooperative learning was found to promote higher achievement than competitive or individualistic approaches.[67]

Students cite similar advantages of cooperative learning: mastery of subject matter, quality of peer interaction, increased ability to understand different points of view, interest in and enjoyment of class, and increased inclination to attend class.[68]

The opportunity for students to be active rather than passive learners, coupled with a de-emphasis on competition that inhibits some students from participating in class discussion and an emphasis on listening and cooperation, makes collaborative learning a particularly useful way to encourage women to participate more actively.

While the vast majority of traditional research on collaborative learning is neither gender specific nor race specific, research in women's studies and feminist pedagogy strongly suggests that many women are particularly well served in less competitive, more collaborative educational settings.[59]

Faculty who employ some collaborative exercises and strategies may reach more learners, particularly women, whose engagement may be stirred by collaborative work. And while such strategies help women, they do not do so at the expense of men. The research shows that almost all students perform well in collaborative scenarios and that females and minorities perform particularly well.[60]

Collaborative work also helps build peer relationships among people who are different from each other. For example, studies on desegregation show that cooperation promotes more positive cross-ethnic relationships than does competition.[61] Faculty need to attend to race, gender, and class; some studies show that a student-empowering pedagogy often reproduces traditional relationships unless there is a deliberate and successful attempt to deal with gender and race bias.[62]

However, studies also show that collaborative learning with a pedagogy that is sensitive to gender, race, and class has a positive impact on student views on racial/ethnic relations, gender relationships, self-esteem, and other attitudinal dimensions.[63]

Many faculty members find that collaborative learning techniques are particularly effective in drawing out students who do not participate in more traditional classroom environments. What may be most attractive about collaborative learning then is that it engages all students, not just women and students of color.

Structure of the Collaborative Classroom

A cooperatively structured classroom is substantially different from those in which most of us were educated. In fact, a collaborative model "runs counter to our own professional training and reward system" in which coauthored or coedited publications are often unrecognized in tenure applications.[64]

The competitive nature of colleges and universities, the system of evaluating students, and students' past educational experiences impede successful collaboration. The compulsion to isolate students from each other during tests is indicative of the fervent conviction that authorship is inherently individual,[65] when in real life, people seeking answers to problems typically consult with others.

As does any pedagogical strategy, the collaborative model brings with it its own ideological assumptions. Just as a lecture format assumes that the teacher's role is to impart knowledge to "spongelike" students, collaborative approaches assume that students should be involved not just in receiving knowledge but in constructing it. A collaborative structure gives as much value to the process as to its product.

Informal collaborative groups integrated within a lecture-oriented class may engage more students in the material and also help them understand the material more quickly, ask questions, and apply what they have learned.[66] Why? According to Johnson et al., the "rehearsal of information soon after it has been received or processed results in greater retention of that information."[67]

Components of Collaborative Learning

For short-term discussions, as well as longer-term group work, Johnson et al. describe five essential elements of a "cooperative" task.[68]

Interdependence. The instructor identifies a mutual goal; the final product makes sense only if all participants collaborate.

Students need to believe that "they sink or swim together..., that they cannot succeed unless the other members do."[69] Faculty members can assign roles to ensure interdependence, e.g., summarizer, accuracy coach or checker who makes sure everyone understands, elaborator, researcher, encourager, and observer who

watches to see how well the group process is working.[70] Students should rotate roles from time to time.

Interaction. In contrast to instructional models where the sharing of information is considered cheating, students are encouraged to assist each other.

Individual accountability. The instructor ensures that there are no free-riders or noncontributors by keeping the groups small, giving individual assessments to each student, asking each student questions, observing groups in action, assigning roles, and having students teach what they've learned to someone else. For an in-class project, the faculty member makes it clear that any group member may be called on to present the groups' material and that the group is responsible for educating all its members.

Development of social skills. Instructors can not only teach students valuable social skills but also communicate to them the value of such skills in later life.[71]

Mechanisms for the group to evaluate their progress and working relationships. Teachers allocate class time for discussion of group interaction. Group members are encouraged to describe to each other which actions of members were helpful and unhelpful in enhancing understanding and completing the groups' task, and, if the group is to continue, deciding what behaviors to retain.[72] One way of doing this is to have students (in their group or as part of a class discussion) list three tasks their group did well and one they could improve. Another is to ask the students to focus not on the group as a unit, but on the individual participants. Students can report what they personally could have done to improve their contributions, what their peers could have done, and what the faculty member could have done. Faculty can also periodically ask the whole class to discuss how their groups are going, what they like and don't like.[73]

Faculty members structure positive interdependence so that the group is responsible for making all members achieve a prescribed level of mastery on the assigned materials. For instance, a goal of the group might be to ensure that each member understands information about a particular topic and can articulate it to the class. Teachers can reward interdependence, for example, by giving bonus points if all members of a group excel. Some faculty have created student study groups to prepare for exams; if all students in the group achieve a designated level of mastery, all students receive additional credit.

Faculty can also enhance the value of this experience by explicitly explaining the criteria for success (e.g., specific improvement)[74] and by specifying desirable group behavior for students. For example, they can encourage that each group member explain how he or she arrived at a particular answer, check to make sure everyone understands and agrees, encourage all to participate, not change their minds unless they are logically persuaded to do so, and criticize ideas but not people.[75]

Collaborative strategies can be applied in various disciplines and settings.[76]

Pitfalls of Collaborative Learning for Women

One of our major concerns is that virtually none of the traditional literature on collaborative and cooperative learning takes into account *how gender and race affect individuals within groups*. The assumption is that structuring interdependent groups through assignment of a joint task is sufficient to ensure that student interactions are positive, fair, and rewarding to all. However, it is naive to assume that power dynamics among students will not operate in unsupervised groups. In fact, Flynn et al. report that some observational studies on group work suggest that much collaborative work is hierarchical in nature and thus may be *disadvantageous* for women.[77]

For example, if students in a group project are to assign roles to each other or assume particular roles, such as researcher, recorder, synthesizer, and presenter, we need to be sure that a woman is not always "chosen" recorder and a man presenter. Similarly, women working in lab groups report that they are often relegated to writing tasks while the male members of the group actu-

ally conduct the experiments, i.e., women do the support work.[78] Ironically, given this dynamic, the lecture in some instances, rather than traditional collaborative activities in the classroom, may have distinct gender advantages for women. Krupnick, whose work supports classroom participation, points out that because there is less interaction in a lecture format among students and between students and the faculty member, differential treatment based on gender may be minimal, e.g., women students may be subject to *less* of the bias that often operates when there is more interaction.[79]

Faculty must take active steps to ensure that roles within groups do not play out stereotypes based on gender and race.[80] If not, then collaborative learning may, like other learning situations, benefit women less than men.

Some faculty members include students in the assessment process, inviting student recommendations about their own grades and those of their peers. Faculty who do this must address some student anxiety about having peer performance affect their grades. Most teachers have found it helpful to assign both individual and group grades; some let the students choose the percentage of each portion.

The most common worry about collaborative work has been dubbed the "free-rider problem." Faculty and students alike are concerned that the work may be accomplished by a few highly motivated students, while less-motivated students reap the benefits. While collaborative learning may not eliminate every instance of the free-rider problem, particularly for students who have no interest in succeeding and feel no responsibility about having other students suffer as a result of their lack of interest, collaborative approaches do reframe both the product and process of learning so that students are *rewarded* for assisting their peers and learn in the process of doing so.

There are many ways to assess individual performance in collaboration. Individual accountability can be imposed by requiring each member to participate in an oral presentation. Students can also be asked to turn in a report of who did what and how it was determined they should do it, thereby satisfying their need for fairness and spurring people to cooperate.[81] Faculty can also quiz individual team members orally, give a brief written quiz to each team member, or select a member at random to take a quiz for the whole team.[82] Faculty members who use both individual and group assignments typically devise a weighted system to grade individual and group efforts.

Student Responsibility

One of the most obvious omissions in most of the material on traditional collaborative learning we reviewed was failure to discuss with students how some teaching approaches require student participation in a more substantive capacity than that with which they are familiar. Most of our students have had at least 12 years experience in educational models where independent work is valued most highly. "Participation" has consisted largely of "answering the teachers' questions." Some students believe that they are asked to speak only as proof that they have read the material in preparation for class.

Faculty employing a pedagogical approach that encourages participation need to do more than announce that the class is participatory. Students accustomed to a "talking head model" may feel it is inappropriate for them to speak; many expect that the teacher, as *the* authority, should speak the "truth" that they will write down in their notes.[83] They may well need direct guidance as they assume more responsibility for their own learning.

Faculty members may also take for granted that students know what "participation" is, when in fact, expectations about student participation vary widely from class to class. To clarify for students what constitutes participation, how it is assessed, and its role in grading, faculty members needs to consider for themselves such questions as

- Should students speak only when they think they know the "right" answer?
- Are students encouraged to ask questions, to answer them, or to do both?
- Are students encouraged to hypothesize aloud?
- Do your responses to student participation contradict your public stance, e.g., do you write in your syllabus that students are encouraged to take risks in class and then fail to back them up when they advance new or novel hypotheses?

Faculty members need to communicate their perspective on these questions to students.

Teachers can also assess how they view their own role in relation to student participation, asking themselves, do I consider it my role to

- Check to see if students read the material?
- Correct incorrect responses?
- Establish competition as a way to facilitate learning?
- Encourage student risk-taking?
- Nurture alliances?
- Monitor the class as a whole and small-group interaction for gender bias?

Students are more likely to participate when the expectations for their behavior are clear and when we foster environments that encourage participation.

Student Resistance to Discussion

While the preponderance of research about the role and value of class discussion reports that students prefer classes in which they have an opportunity to discuss the material, some students feel time is wasted when peers talk, rather than the teacher. Those who do not see the value of collaborative learning are uncomfortable in a class where the teacher does not lecture.

If class discussion is not framed *as part of the learning process*, students may not listen to anyone but the teacher. The educational value of *exchanging* ideas must be visibly integrated into a student-centered pedagogy; otherwise students not only resist accepting as valid the ideas of fellow students,[57] they also do not consider themselves knowledge producers and thus place little value on their own participation.

The success of participatory pedagogies relies not only on a skilled teacher but also on student assumption of responsibility they have not had in the past. In all of the literature we reviewed, few writers explicitly stated the importance of communicating to students that employing a feminist pedagogy radically alters the structure of the classroom as they know it, and that such a transformation requires their collaboration and contributions.

Assessment

Grading poses many challenges in participatory pedagogies. All authority is never actually relinquished—there is no denying that teachers maintain considerable "power" and "authority" by virtue of the fact that they ultimately evaluate student contributions and performance in grades. Many teachers experimenting with feminist pedagogies have designed and implemented assessment mechanisms they consider consistent with the aspects of feminist pedagogy we have discussed here.

For example, some teachers suggest that students can be involved not just in the daily discussion but in developing goals and objectives for a course and in designing methods of evaluation for their own work.[58] Others are experimenting with alternative methods of assessment, including semester-long portfolios, peer assessment, community leader involvement, and others.[59]

PART III

INCLUDING WOMEN IN THE CURRICULUM

If there is any misleading concept, it is that of "coeducation": that because women and men are sitting in the same classrooms, hearing the same lectures, reading the same books, performing the same laboratory experiments, they are receiving an equal education. They are not, first because the content of education itself validates men even as it invalidates women. Its very message is that men have been the shapers and thinkers of the world and that this is only natural.[1]

The following student comments from course evaluations echo these concerns:[2]

> **English:** "The Outsiders in American Literature" should be retitled "The Male Outsiders in American Literature." This course encompasses only the novels written by male authors about male outsiders, eliminating and ignoring the existence of female counterparts.... Any female student aspiring to become a writer will be intimidated by the dominance of male writers as misrepresented in this course.
>
> **Religion:** This course leads to the assumption that religious mystical experiences are restricted to men. No evidence was given for the equality of female experience, and when left to draw one's own conclusions, the student would most likely assume that there have been no significant female mystics.
>
> **Political Science:** A closer look at the subject matter...reveals that it may be titled "The Male Political System," for the role of women in the development of our nation seems almost nonexistent.... Because the text and articles were all written by men, the student is implicitly taught that women were either unconcerned with or incapable of discussing the direction of American government.

Incorporating women into the curriculum means more than including them in the texts and topics we assign, it entails including them in the discussion we allow and in the topics we encourage and support for discussion, reports, and independent study.

> In a screen writing workshop of which eleven students were women and nine were men, the male professor asked us to submit a proposal for a documentary on an issue of our choice. I submitted a proposal on women's ambivalent feelings toward motherhood. The professor's response to this proposal was that in his opinion, "Motherhood is not an issue. All

> the women I have known have enjoyed it." When a native [Canadian] woman proposed a docudrama on her realization on her racial difference, the professor's response was "I wonder if this would not be too personal...." The professor also expressed concern about whether the issues of motherhood and race would speak to a wide enough audience, yet the professor approved a proposal of a male student who wanted to do a documentary on plumbing. He was not asked if his issue spoke to a wide enough audience.[3]

Why discuss curriculum in a report focused on teacher behaviors? Because the curriculum itself is a factor which may "chill" the classroom for female students. The omission of women from course content, deliberate or not, can often contribute to their sense of alienation and exclusion and may limit their participation in the classroom and the sights they set for themselves.

The traditional curriculum has typically excluded women as subject matter. Although faculty members want to be fair in their teaching, they are often unaware of how their courses may be biased.

WOMEN'S STUDIES

Women have been added to the college curriculum primarily through implementation of women's studies as courses, as an area of concentration and as a major field of study. Most faculty and administrators have heard about the existence of women's studies classes or programs, but many do not know of the interdisciplinary reach of women's studies or the ground-breaking insights women's studies scholars have brought to various fields in academe.

"Whether or not you are in women's studies, its scholarship will affect your discipline."[4] Women's studies suggests new ways of looking at our traditional disciplines, new ways of conceptualizing what constitutes knowledge. It raises questions which we may not have thought of because our discipline never included analysis of gender as a variable.

Women's studies seeks to "build knowledge and a curriculum in which women are agents of knowledge and in which knowledge of women transforms the male-centered curriculum of traditional institutions."[5]

As a systematic endeavor, women's studies dates from the early 1970s, when some 17 courses in women's studies were being offered at American colleges and universities.[6] The National Women's Studies Association reports that there are now thousands of courses in women's studies and more than 600 programs in which students can major, minor, or obtain a certificate at the undergraduate and graduate levels.

Today, most universities offer several courses in women's studies; some offer dozens of courses. Most programs are interdisciplinary and have a part-time or full-time faculty coordinator; women's studies departments are still relatively rare.

Women's studies has been at the fore challenging the ways the traditional curriculum marginalizes and explicitly excludes women. Like ethnic studies, women's studies aims to expand the curriculum, not just to include all people but also to address those factors which have led to such oversight and to consider the implications of decisions that have been made about what we have come to accept as knowledge. In some disciplines, such as English, history, and sociology, women's studies has had a major impact. In addition, there are many discipline-based journals, committees, organizations, and electronic forums dealing with gender. Discipline-based conferences include gender as a topic. University presses, along with other academic publishers, have published innumerable books about gender. In many schools, courses on gender and/or race are part of the general education requirements.

Women's studies challenges the implicit and sometimes explicit criticism that the study of two-thirds of the human race—women and people of color—is nothing more than the "politicalization" of knowledge, a catering to "special interests."[7] Often women's studies is controversial because it challenges the authority, the accuracy, and the validity of an academic "canon" of accepted writers, artists, and thinkers whose work has omitted women as subjects and as contributors and has been generalized

to "all" persons although based upon primarily male experience.[8]

At the core, women's studies examines all disciplines from "the standpoint of women," valuing women's experience, women's voice, women's insight, and women's lives, as they shape and are shaped by history, science, and the arts.[9]

IMPACT OF INCLUSION AND EXCLUSION ON WOMEN STUDENTS

Comments from students:[10]

> For a change I took one course called "Women in Literature," and my world opened. It was like discovering a new continent. A country where I was welcomed.
>
> I know that [women's studies courses have] given me the strength to enter a male-dominated field.
>
> I really enjoyed the [women's studies] class discussions and the progression of learning that I experienced from class to class. I found the level of writing and the critical thinking in these classes a plus.
>
> [I majored in women's studies]...because the atmosphere of the classroom was such that I could be acknowledged as a smart, powerful woman. I had never really had that experience before—where what I thought actually mattered. Where what I felt had some relationship to what I thought and did. Where students were acknowledged and encouraged for what they did and who they were outside the classroom.

Several research studies show that students who have selected women's studies courses "report increased self-esteem, interpret their own experiences within a larger social context, increase their identification with other women, expand their sense of life options and goals, and state more liberal attitudes about women."[11] They are often effusive, stating that women's studies changed their life, expanded their mind in every direction, and gave them a voice.[12]

> The students felt both safer and more challenged [in the women's studies classes]; maybe more challenged because they were really engaged.... We became aware of how often women's studies students are the ones who go into other classes and speak up.[13]

WHY AREN'T WOMEN'S STUDIES COURSES AND PROGRAMS ENOUGH?[14]

In 1989, Catherine R. Stimpson wrote,

> Women's studies has produced a body of knowledge so big, complex, and vital that people who ignore it should be sued for intellectual and academic malpractice.[15]

Some consider the presence and growth of women's studies courses and programs proof that women have been successfully integrated into the curriculum. They perceive the existence of such courses as remedies to previous omissions of women from the curriculum. Although it is true that women's studies has served as a catalyst for the inclusion of women in the content of some non-women's studies courses, such coverage has been the result mostly of individual endeavor. The vast majority of courses still do not include any content about women.

There are signs that some educators are beginning to incorporate parts of the new scholarship on women into their regular course content; more than 160 institutions have developed formal programs helping faculty members integrate the new knowledge about women into their courses.

There are many reasons to incorporate women throughout the curriculum, rather than to only offer women's studies courses:

- As subject matter, women are part of virtually all disciplines. Students who do not enroll in women's studies ought to receive a more balanced education than many of the disciplines currently provide.
- Interdisciplinary women's studies courses cannot substitute for the inclusion of women in the scholarship of all disciplines.
- Women's studies courses alone cannot reach all students.

• Women's studies are often isolated from the mainstream, not required, and devalued as marginal or "political," and are therefore not considered a legitimate area of curriculum concern.

INITIATING CHANGE

It takes effort to include women; neither textbooks nor graduation requirements have been transformed. But to engage in anything except conscious effort for inclusion constitutes what Joy James calls "passive support" for bias.[16]

Although far from being totally successful, women's studies is one of the few areas in academe that have begun to examine and pay attention to gender and race bias in the curriculum.

STAGES OF INTEGRATION

Some scholars have identified "stages" of curriculum integration on a cross-disciplinary, institution-wide scale.[17] Peggy McIntosh for example, describes five phases of curriculum change:[18]

• Phase 1: Curriculum is "womenless;" women are absent.

• Phase 2: Often the first effort to transform the curriculum involves simply "tacking" women on to a syllabus, which may produce portraits of women as stereotypes, exceptions, or tokens. Such effort has been characterized, perhaps ironically, by a cooking metaphor: "add women and stir,"[19] which has been used to describe efforts at inclusion that entail only the addition of a "section" on women or a book written by a woman. In the "add and stir" approach, women are included, but no acknowledgment is made of the ways scholarship by and about women challenges the assumptions and conclusions of the traditional disciplines.[20] Similarly, the limited inclusion of women, presenting them in terms of their relationship to men or as "exceptional women," may confirm rather than challenge sexism.

• Phase 3: We learn of "women as problem, anomaly, or absence." Women are still seen as outsiders to the society, and as having difficulties and problems, or only in their relationship to men.

• Phase 4: We see women's lives as creating history and forming culture; they are an integral part of their society, no longer outsiders. For example, women's suffrage is no longer simply "women get the vote," but part of the long American civil rights struggle and the extension of democratic freedoms to additional groups.

• Phase 5: We learn what McIntosh calls a "lateral consciousness," attachment to others and a goal of working for the survival of all. We recognize the struggles of all minority populations as related and central to our individual and collective goals.

McIntosh's phases can be used to assess the integration of women into a given curriculum. (For more information on how to evaluate courses for the inclusion of women,[21] see Appendix 1.)

MAKING ROOM FOR WOMEN

Successful progression through the phases McIntosh describes requires teachers and learners to abandon their concern with material that will "not get covered" if women are added. A major obstacle to successful curriculum integration is overemphasis on what material will be "lost" or left out if we include information about women, including women of color.

Some professors worry that including materials on women in their courses would mean leaving out something more important. Putting priority on the inclusion of women—half the human race—means reconsidering which material is "most" important.[22]

While it is beyond the scope of this report to present a comprehensive analysis of the canon, we must stress that an education appropriate for all students, especially for women, requires the inclusion of women—at all levels, as subject matter, in texts, as teachers, and in student/teacher dialogue.

The integration of women into the curriculum begins with the premise that curriculum transformation is not about the simple addition of women. It acknowledges what is missing from many current curricula: full and accurate acknowledgement of the diversity of people, events, and knowledge. We need to agree that chal-

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lenges to traditional curricula are not discussions just about what there is room for, but about what is valid educational material.[23] What is gained when we teach from a perspective which includes women?

Feminist scholars seek to describe transforming the curriculum not in terms of sacrifice, compromise, and accommodation, but in terms of diversity, inclusion, and excellence. A transformed curriculum not only includes all, but in doing so addresses explicitly the failures of previous paradigms. Building an inclusive curriculum includes integrating women and women's studies, making the changes these additions necessitate, and assuring that course content is multicultural and multiracial.[24] As faculty members strive to include material about women, they have also begun to examine and include information about other groups: work by and about people of color; lesbians and gay men; people with disabilities; people at different stages of the life cycle; people of different religions, ethnicities, nationalities and social classes; and people who have experienced such trauma as rape, battering, incest, war, Holocaust, genocide, and migration.[25] By doing so, they have enriched their students' understanding of their own culture and those of others in the world.

Faced with heavy teaching responsibilities and the pressure to publish, faculty may have little time and perhaps less incentive to learn new information and to restructure their syllabi.[26] Even when they have the knowledge, faculty may be unsure just how to integrate women and other marginalized groups into their teaching.

Recognizing this gap, more than 160 universities have implemented faculty seminars on curriculum integration, offering workshops, training sessions, and released time for faculty to revise syllabi.

INCLUDING WOMEN OF COLOR IN THE CURRICULUM

Just as the integration of white women into the curriculum is accomplished through various stages and strategies, so too is the incorporation of women of color into women's studies and gender-conscious courses and programs. Many of the early efforts to include women in the curriculum ignored the impact of race, class, ethnicity, age and sexual orientation—repeating the patterns of exclusion typical of male-centered programs.

In the same way that the incorporation of material on white women challenges traditionally male-centered theories, the importance of the incorporation of women of color lies in its contribution to knowledge and the challenges it poses to traditional and feminist scholarship.[27]

In Esther Chow's analysis of the stages of inclusion of women of color in the curriculum, we see stages similar to those witnessed in attempts to include white women in male-focused curricula.[28]

Some faculty members "add" women of color to otherwise unchanged course content, usually for purposes of comparison. The advantage of this approach, compared to no addition, is that students are exposed to a broader range of materials, which may lead to less stereotypic thinking and to positive attitude changes. Still, Chow points out, "addition" can be "tokenistic" and partial, because it assumes that the study of white women is the major paradigm and that women of color are a variation from the norm.[29] And, this approach typically portrays women of color as a single group, ignoring differences among women of color.[30]

Some faculty members take a "special treatment" approach in which women of color are the focus of separate courses in which students can explore the subject in greater depth. Unfortunately, especially if they compete with mandatory course requirements, such courses may not be in high demand; as electives, they have impact on relatively few students. Of course, the same argument is often made against women's studies courses in general, in favor of transforming the whole curriculum so that women, including women of color, are fully integrated.

A more promising "mainstreaming"[31] approach incorporates material on women of color into existing

courses. Building from the perspective that women should be a starting place for teaching and learning.[32] Chow maintains that women of color should not be considered subject matter just for ethnic and women's studies.[33]

It may be helpful for faculty to ask themselves some questions as they incorporate white women, and women of color, into the curriculum:

- How does this addition relate to what I already teach?
- Does the new material conflict with the old? How?
- Is the conflict a valuable learning resource for my students?[34]

OBSTACLES TO CURRICULUM INTEGRATION EFFORTS

The integration of women into the core curriculum has been slow; in some instances, it has been resisted. Opposition stems from a variety of sources and takes various forms.

A common misconception is that scholarship about women is motivated politically and ideologically, not academically and intellectually. Critics charge that curriculum transformation and the inclusion of women stand to obstruct the neutral and objective "truths" upon which American education was built. Yet, the inclusion of white women and women of color is, after all, no more "ideological" or "political" than the exclusion of the same women. Florence Howe explains:

> [T]eaching is a political act: some person is choosing, for whatever reasons, to teach a set of values, ideas, assumptions, and pieces of information, and in so doing, to omit other values, ideas, assumptions, and pieces of information. If all those choices form a pattern excluding half the human race, that is a political act one can hardly help noticing. To omit women entirely makes one kind of political statement; to include women as a target for humor makes another. To include women with seriousness and vision, and with some attention to the perspective of women as a hitherto subordinate group is simply another kind of political act.[35]

CAN MEN TEACH ABOUT WOMEN? CAN WHITES TEACH ABOUT PEOPLE OF COLOR? CAN HETEROSEXUALS TEACH ABOUT HOMOSEXUALITY?

Some people assume that faculty cannot teach about those who are different from themselves, that white men, for example, cannot teach about black women. This perspective seemingly views knowledge not as acquired but as innate, and paradoxically suggests that only those with personal experience can and should teach particular courses.[36] Just as one would not exclude an African American female from teaching about Shakespeare, one should not exclude white males or anyone else from teaching about gender and race.

While men cannot speak for women, nor whites represent or speak for people of color, they certainly can integrate gender and race into their courses and engage their students in discussions about these issues. Faculty need to develop expertise about gender and race; they can gain it from those who are acknowledged experts on these issues and from the scholarship they produce. The responsibility for learning and teaching about these issues cannot lie only with people of color and white women. We all need to take responsibility for teaching about race if white, gender if male, homophobia if heterosexual.[37]

A number of critics[38] link the crisis in education to the proliferation of scholarship on women and ethnic studies, which are labeled politically biased, while study of the classics is seen as both academically rigorous and

politically neutral.[39] Critics describe "substitutes" for traditional classics and subjects—material which is more inclusive of women—as an erosion of academic standards.

When feminists "challenge the very idea of neutrality in scholarship...they may be...accused of 'rampant relativism' and of replacing academic standards with ideological frameworks."[40] The results of such categorization are clear: women's studies is segregated and marginalized just as ethnic studies programs have been in the past; women's studies courses and scholarship are devalued.

Women's studies scholarship is further undermined, as are women in general, when women, sexism, racism, and classism are discussed only in particular fields or in particular courses. We see the effect of this marginalization when students react with disbelief to the assumptions of women's studies: when we tell them that race and sex are everywhere, that they "pervade our past and our present and shape our future, and yet these same realities go unmentioned in most of the courses these students take throughout their undergraduate career."[41] Until knowledge about women is "integrated into the entire curriculum students will continue to view it as the peculiar concern of a small group of faculty."[42]

Across the country, there are faculty, students, and even administrators who call advocates for the inclusion of women names such as "gender ladies," "political correctness police,"[43] "bitches"—labels that trivialize and denigrate those involved in scholarship that is conscious of race and gender. The Memphis State Center for Research on Women has been called "a witches' coven," and their "ground rules for class discussion"[44] their "bible of beliefs."[45]

The backlash is conducted in a hostile manner that rarely happens to persons advocating for other new areas of scholarship. The hostility directed at women's studies suggests there is both a great deal of defensiveness and a lack of respect for academe's most cherished ideal—the free discussion of ideas.

Some backlash may occur because faculty members consider women's studies a personal attack. They think of themselves as fair, but women's studies points out that they have overlooked half the human race. They think of themselves as knowledgeable, but women's studies suggests their knowledge of women is limited. They think of themselves as good teachers, but women's studies tells them they need to do much more.[46] There may be some hostility to women and a general resistance to change. For some, at a deep level, women studies, along with other issues involving women, is symbolic of changing relationships between men and women, and that, for some, is quite threatening.

RAGE AND SILENCE: ANGER AND FEAR

Partially as a result of their focus on experience as a legitimate area of intellectual discourse, women's studies and feminist pedagogy have unfairly earned a reputation for being "overly nurturing." Women's studies classes have traditionally been considered a place where students feel comfortable speaking.

However, some professors have come to view the admission of student voices on issues such as gender, race, and class as an educational Pandora's box, its opening producing angry exchanges between students, behavior some consider unbefitting a classroom.

Providing a forum in which students can speak openly about how their experience shapes their perception is likely to generate serious differences of opinion. But women's studies or feminist pedagogy has not "brought" discomfort to the classroom. Uneasiness has likely been there all along, although it has been borne disproportionately by those who were excluded from discussion—women and students of color.[47] Thus some discomfort is to be expected.

Another obstacle common to classrooms that encourage frank discussion is a student's fear of saying something sexist or racist or being perceived as sexist, racist, or ignorant.

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Students can be encouraged to speak when these obstacles are addressed head on. Faculty can set a tone of mutual respect, moderating discussions to ensure that students respect each other. For example, some faculty set "ground rules" for class discussion that encourage students to negotiate difficult conversations.[48]

THE PLACE FOR DISCUSSING DIFFERENCE

Many professors have found students resistant to the integration of gender, race, ethnicity, class, age, and sexual orientation into course content because it challenges many of their basic beliefs: that they are not prejudiced and do not live in a society that discriminates.[49]

Paula Rothenberg writes that many of her students "say they think of themselves as people, not as women or men or black or white...and they are often puzzled and angered by my insistence upon noticing race, class, and gender differences."[50] Another professor tells of a white male student who responded in a faculty evaluation that "there would be no race problems if people did not talk about race."[51] An Hispanic woman faculty member reports that in a workshop she conducted on teaching material on women of color, a student wrote on an evaluation "The problem with this course is that there is no tolerance for racism or sexism."[52]

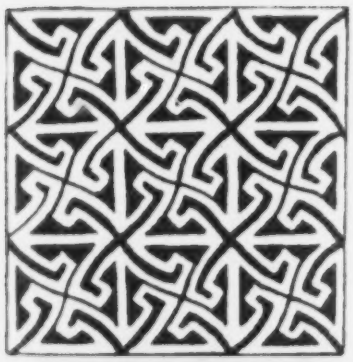
Some student frustration seems to stem from the misguided presumption that a discussion of gender or racial differences is what causes a classroom flare-up. Instead, we should explain that tensions relating to gender and racial differences exist in the classroom even if they do not become a topic of discussion. Many believe that it is the minority, women and students of color, who suffer that tension; their silence ironically misleads faculty members and many students to believe that all is fine. Their speech does not create the disagreement, it merely calls our attention to it.

Rothenberg explains that "today's students confuse failing to notice race and gender with the absence of racism and sexism" and that professors must "persuade students that these are meaningful, indeed crucial, categories for analyzing experience and simultaneously to persuade them that these are not merely abstract categories which we as academics seek to impose, but that they are the lived reality of their lives which has gone unnamed and unnoticed."[53]

Beverly Daniel Tatum concurs that student resistance to understanding the role of race stems from a complex combination of mutually exclusive beliefs, including the conviction that ours is a just society (the myth of meritocracy), insistence that they are not personally prejudiced, and the belief that race is a taboo topic for discussion.

Add to this mix white student guilt, students of color who perceive themselves to be without prejudices, and the failure of most students of any background to acknowledge the impact of racism on their *own lives*, and we are left with considerable resistance to even engaging in a discussion of race.[54] In much the same way, many men see themselves as "not prejudiced against women." Women and men alike may fail to recognize the many ways in which institutionalized gender differences affect their lives. Younger students in particular, both male and female, resist the idea that sexism still exists, or exists in "their generation."

In light of all this, why bother? Rothenberg suggests that there are several reasons we must confront these issues head on in the classroom. First, "putting white students and men in touch with their race and gender inheritance and how it differs from that of white women, and all people of color, can illustrate how some of us profit from racism and sexism regardless of our intentions."[55] She uses her own recent experience with breast cancer as an example, citing statistics which show how her status as a middle-class white professional woman living in a large urban area increased the chances of a positive prognosis; recovery rates for women of color are much lower. Discussion about race also helps explain why white working-class students who are in fact privileged by virtue of their gender or race may not feel privileged.[56]



PART IV

GENDER AND THE FACULTY EVALUATION PROCESS: REWARD OR PUNISHMENT?

GENDER AS A FACTOR IN PERFORMANCE EVALUATION

A senior law faculty member told a junior faculty member he was evaluating that her class was "totally out of control" because "students just called out questions and answers without waiting for you to call on them."[1]

Any effort at developing inclusive curricula, devising alternative approaches to teaching, or introducing faculty diversity must also address the issue of faculty roles and rewards. What impact does divergence from traditional expectations about course content and/or pedagogical style have on the evaluation of faculty, particularly women faculty and faculty who otherwise differ from the traditional image of the "white male professor"?

Empirical research to date is contradictory and suggests there is no simple answer to this question; however, given the continuing underrepresentation of women in senior faculty ranks, it is a question we must address. The number of women faculty can have a profound impact on the educational experience of students, not only white women students and students of color, but *all* students. Alexander W. Astin's *What Matters in College*, the most comprehensive recent national study of American undergraduates, cites the percentage of women on the faculty at an institution as a key variable which has "direct positive effects on students' satisfaction with faculty...the perception of a student-oriented faculty...[and] the perception of a diversity orientation" as well as "weaker but significant direct positive effects on Scholarship (Intellectual Self-Esteem), degree aspirations, and self-reported growth in knowledge of a field or discipline"[2] (capitals in original). It is clearly in an institution's self-interest to attend to the advancement of women faculty members, since the percentage of women on the faculty correlates not only with students' overall learning and intellectual growth but also with student retention.[3]

The current national reconsideration of faculty roles and rewards provides an ideal opportunity for examining the potential for gender and race bias in the faculty evaluation process, including both student assessment of teaching and the overall process of peer review.

While there has always been controversy about how to weigh and balance the three traditional categories of faculty achievement—teaching, research, and service—the categories themselves and their relationship to each other have come under increasing scrutiny in ways that have particular implications for women faculty, especially during the last 15 years of rapid enrollment growth and diminished resources.

Research and the other products of scholarship, once considered relatively easy to document and evaluate, now pose a myriad of evaluation questions: quantity vs. quality, publication in peer-reviewed journals vs. publication in a broader range of vehicles, strict disciplinary focus vs. interdisciplinary approaches, the "old cannon" vs. the "new scholarship."

Similarly, service to the institution, the local community, and the discipline has taken on new forms and expanded to new settings, some more traditionally valued (such as serving on an educational policy committee or providing a city government assistance in planning economic development) than others (such as serving on an institutional diversity committee or providing organizational development for nonprofits that serve women and children).

Historically, women faculty have been clustered at the lower ranks (instructor, assistant professor), at less-prestigious institutions, and they often have major teaching responsibilities for large introductory courses. Male faculty have generally advanced more rapidly to the ranks of associate or full professor, often with lighter teaching loads and more time for research and publishing. Many studies suggest that women faculty themselves often emphasize teaching as a primary role, focusing more on student learning outcomes than on display of their own knowledge.[4]

However, following the lead of prestigious research universities and the unproved assumption that "the best researcher makes the best teacher," the faculty reward structures at many institutions have tended to put greater value on research and publishing than on teaching in making advancement decisions.[5] Under current evaluation systems, faculty who devote themselves primarily to teaching and who spend time and energy developing participatory, learner-centered classroom approaches may not always be rewarded. (This may be especially true if course content, such as women's studies, is threatening to the status quo.) Where tenure is concerned, candidates may be disqualified if their teaching is evaluated poorly, but they will not necessarily be *rewarded* for excellence in teaching. One male faculty commented, "No one gets tenure on the basis of good teaching."[6] In other words, teaching, like other low-status "women's work," is often devalued and taken for granted within the mix of professional responsibilities at the postsecondary level.

Too often, women faculty members and men of color are caught in a double bind, especially when they are new and few at a given institution. For instance, they may be asked to serve on numerous committees in order to provide gender and ethnic representation. Often, they are not only inundated with requests for committee assignments, but also expected to speak for all women or all persons of color, rather than present their own individual academic expertise or personal perspectives. Moreover, they may be largely excluded from the more powerful committees that deal with key academic policy issues, including advancement and tenure.

Institutional structure (public/private, research/teaching, two-year/four-year), institutional size, academic field, department composition, and a host of other variables can have an impact on how faculty are evaluated, and consequently on which faculty are retained and promoted. The evaluation process itself "tends to depend heavily on how students judge a professor's personality (as well as competence) and ability to treat students fairly (as well as to exercise authority and control)."[7]

Empirical research and anecdotal evidence indicate that gender can intersect in a complicated way with most of these variables and thus may lessen women faculty's chances for promotion and tenure.

The following discussion highlights key studies and issues and suggests actions that institutions can take to

become more aware of the potential for gender bias in the evaluation of teaching, research, and service. Recommendations to foster a more equitable evaluation process are included in Part V.

Despite efforts of faculty members to construct fair teaching evaluation forms and similar efforts on the part of most students to be fair in their use of such forms, there is a significant body of research which suggests that factors *other* than teacher competence may also play a role in ratings, and that the gender of the instructor can be an important factor in determining ratings.

For example, research has demonstrated, and earlier papers in the climate series[9] have discussed, ways in which limited expectations about women can often have a negative impact on the evaluation of their actual performance, despite conscious efforts of evaluators to be fair.

Earlier, we described how women are often devalued. The devaluation of women in general can lead to lower evaluations of women as faculty members by both students and professional colleagues.

The following sections briefly discuss potential implications of gender bias for students' evaluation of their professors, and for faculty evaluation of their colleagues in the peer review process.

Gender as a Factor in Student Evaluation of Teaching

> Perhaps because college teaching still is predominantly a male profession, female professors are seen [by students] as atypical and therefore their gender is notable. That is, males are professors, females are *female* professors" (italics in original).

Research evidence about gender bias in faculty evaluation is complex and sometimes contradictory, to say the least. A significant body of studies carried out with student raters in controlled laboratory settings seems to show that male and female students' *overall* evaluations of male and female professors are not affected by gender.[10] Another group of studies more closely tied to actual classroom situations suggests that women students tend to rate women faculty higher overall, and male students to rate male faculty higher overall (same-gender preference),[11] especially when faculty gender differences in rank, discipline, and student-perceived personality traits are taken into account.[12] Evaluation of male faculty seems less affected by student gender; male faculty are rated similarly by male and female students. In contrast, female professors are rated differently; they tend to receive their highest ratings from female students and their lowest ratings from males.[13]

Although many studies find no difference, when differences *are* found, female teachers receive lower ratings. Some research suggests that students who have had more actual experience with women professors tend to rate them more equitably than those for whom a woman professor is still a "novelty,"[14] and that male students in fields where women faculty are less common as well as students who hold traditional views about women's roles tend to downgrade them the most.[15] Some of these findings are especially troubling given the "backlash" against women on many campuses in the 1990s, and the kinds of overtly hostile comments based on gender that some women faculty have received on written evaluation forms submitted by students. These have included being called "bitch" or other derogatory terms, or comments about sexuality, such as "Why don't you wear skirts? I would like to see your legs."[16] Furthermore, women faculty report more judgments about their personalities, being criticized for "not smiling enough" or "not dramatic enough," and complimented for their "enthusiasm," "openness," and "outgoing manner."[17]

The gender of a student can be a significant factor in how women faculty are evaluated on specific questions regarding their teaching, advising, and classroom management. In one four-year study of student evaluations,

> ...male faculty are almost always rated higher on questions of knowledge; female faculty are generally rated higher on questions of respect, sensitivity, and student freedom to express ideas, although female students tend to think so even more than do male students; and female teachers tend to be rated relatively low by male students on stimulation, appropriate speech, fairness, non-repetition, as well as overall rating.[18]

The qualities rated higher for female professors are often those qualities generally considered to be common among them. And indeed, women as a group may exhibit a larger number of these traits.[19] However, women may need to score *higher* on the so-called "female" traits in order to receive overall ratings comparable to those of men. One study found that the ratings of women faculty were strongly affected by whether they smiled and were sociable but that these factors played a minimal role in the rating of men.[20] In summarizing findings from several studies, Basow concluded:

> Whereas men need to be strong in such instrumental areas as organization, explanations and dynamism in order to receive good student ratings, women [also] need to be strong in those areas as well as the interpersonal ones.... a pattern indicative of a heavier set of expectations placed on female professors than on their male counterparts, and one that would be obscured by a finding of no significant difference in *overall* ratings of male and female faculty (italics added).[21]

Students may unconsciously bring higher and/or different standards to bear when they evaluate women faculty, standards that are harder to meet and which can put women faculty in what might be called an *instructional version of the "double-bind."* How can they display competence and exert authority while simultaneously fulfilling stereotypical social expectations of women as warm, nurturing, physically attractive, flexible, and always available?[22]

For example, studies have found (and much anecdotal evidence confirms) that women professors are judged more negatively than male professors if they are not more interested in and available to their students. Indeed, when male and female students both report that they receive more attention and time from women faculty, they nevertheless do not rate the women faculty as more accessible than men in formal evaluations.[23] In other words, because the *social* expectations of women are higher in this regard, in order to get equal *professional* ratings, women must do *more* than men.[24]

Personal factors (such as appearance and style of dress) can affect women's evaluations; male faculty rarely, if ever, receive comments about their appearance on their student evaluations.

> Both male and female students may also expect women faculty members to be more supportive listeners, thus confiding more personal problems to women faculty, and taking up time that male faculty members are not expected to expend. Women faculty members therefore tend to have a much higher load of informal advising, especially with women students. Some students, perhaps expecting women faculty members to be forgiving (somewhat like ideal mothers), put more pressure on women faculty for special treatment, such as requests to extend a deadline, and thus they are angrier at a female professor who refuses such special treatment than at a male professor who acts the same way. Yet when women do act more motherly, that is often seen as being in conflict with the notion of what a good teacher is; someone who is nurturing is not readily viewed as a strong, intellectual, dynamic teacher."[25]

The devaluation of women discussed earlier also affects students' perception of the ability of their professors:

> [Women faculty] have to be enormously credible before students will listen to them. Male faculty might be viewed as eccentric, they might be ridiculed or imitated, but they would never be attacked as incompetent. For women, the connotation of incompetence is always tacked on.[26]

> Respondent 10 [of a survey] is still routinely asked if she has taught the course before. "They look utterly shocked when I say I've taught most of my courses 15-18 years—sometimes longer than they've been alive."[27]

> I find that students (mostly white) seem to resist the intellectual and pedagogical authority of a Black female professor.[28]

A small but significant number of male students may exhibit overt hostility to women faculty. They may call her "bitch" or other derogatory terms to her face when they disagree and may exaggerate competitive discourse with the faculty member, as in the following:

• Immediately challenging the professor, starting early in the class and continuing throughout

• Aggressively noting and arguing aggressively about minor flaws, exceptions to every generalization, quizzes, and the text

• Continually interrupting the woman faculty member

• Exhibiting negative body language such as turning away, inattention, eye-rolling, smirking, and snide comments.[29]

Such behavior not only can be unnerving for the faculty member and disruptive of the learning process but can also influence other students' perception of the teacher's ability. Students who behave this way are not likely to evaluate the faculty member objectively and can skew student evaluation ratings.

Sometimes students, male or female, may complain to a male faculty about the behavior of a female teacher as a way of flattering him by implying that he is more skilled than the female teacher.

Students who are not hostile may nevertheless believe that women are out of place in the classroom. Surprisingly, one-quarter of male and female students agree with the statement that "Married women's activities are best confined to home and family."[30] Thus her very presence may make some students uncomfortable — a factor which surely affects their evaluation of her performance.

A professor's adherence to particular values or viewpoints is more likely to influence students' perception and teaching evaluation of female teachers than of male teachers.[31]

> Women's studies are viewed politically more than scholarly. Students are suspicious when I continually introduce women's comments into courses.
>
> In male professors, women's studies is an acceptable aberration. There is opposition to feminism in women.[32]

Women's studies courses as well as those that discuss issues concerning women are more likely than many others to challenge students' personal assumptions. They thus may generate anger in both male and female students toward the faculty member who is "causing" them the discomfort. In one study, faculty members teaching women's studies were assessed more negatively than other faculty members; male students gave even more negative assessments than women students.[33] The introduction of women's concerns may also be met with devaluation: these issues may be viewed as extraneous and not "real," thereby detracting from perception of the faculty member as competent. Thus faculty members teaching women's studies or raising women's concerns may be particularly vulnerable to poor teaching evaluations.

Students may tend to especially downgrade women faculty members who assert authority or adopt a "get tough" approach, a stance that runs counter to the social norms for women. Many students, both male and female, may feel ambivalent about women in authority, which may affect their perceptions and their evaluations of women faculty members. Several studies indicate that male students are far more likely to give lower ratings to female faculty who they perceive to be hard graders.[34] Indeed, one study summarizes the issue as follows:

> In particular...male and female instructors will earn equal student ratings for equal professional work only if the women also display stereotypically feminine behavior.[35]

This corresponds with an extensive body of research across many professional and social contexts which demonstrates that individuals whose behavior violates gender expectations are typically perceived negatively. Statham et al. note that expectations for women faculty members to be warm, nurturing, and nonassertive do not overlap and may even conflict with the expectations that professors are directive, assertive, and knowledgeable. If the female faculty member attempts to resolve the instructional double bind by adopting a more "masculine style," she may be resented by students because she does

not meet their expectations; yet if she uses a more "feminine" style, she may be judged as a less competent teacher than her male colleagues.[36] In contrast, the expectations for men in general and for university professors specifically overlap a great deal, so that students do not have conflicting expectations for male faculty and male faculty experience less conflict in their roles as men and professors.

Thus, if women faculty adopt "traditionally male" styles of teaching to enhance the likelihood they will be rated positively by their male *colleagues* in the peer review process, they may simultaneously set the stage for negative responses from their male—and female—*students*. One of the most detailed studies of this issue has found that while basic instructional activities and techniques are similar, there may be subtly different models of teaching for women faculty and for men faculty in the balancing of classroom interaction and control. Statham et al. suggest that women and men faculty may *both* be subject to gender bias based on stereotypes in student evaluations:

> Women professors were rated more highly [by students] when they used a more interactive teaching model that permitted student input; monopolizing the limelight for their own presentations received strong negative sanctions. Men professors, on the other hand, were sanctioned more consistently for receiving student input of any type, but particularly personal input; they were reinforced for occupying center stage and for giving negative feedback.
>
> ...Women, though apparently rewarded for interacting with students on a more personal level, nonetheless were expected to maintain control with their interactive method (giving partial positive and negative evaluations, for instance) and were sanctioned for interactive techniques that might signal a lack of control (e.g., receiving many questions and solicitations from students).[37]

In other words, male faculty are apt to be rewarded for the *same* kinds of teaching behaviors (e.g., presentation, negative feedback, strict control) by their students *and* their colleagues in the traditional peer review system, while women engaging in the same behaviors may not be rewarded in the same manner.

Statham et al. suggest that many women faculty may be both *more effective and ranked more highly by students* when they combine *traditional* academic and *other* techniques—such as personalizing material to help students relate to and learn it, and using the wide range of interactive and collaborative strategies that often characterize the women's studies classroom. Thus, by doing *more* than male faculty members, such as increasing student interaction, some women faculty may negotiate the classroom "double bind" to some degree. But those very same approaches may lead male peers and departmental administrators to see them as "not in control," lacking in academic rigor, or simply incompetent.

This is one reason it is especially important for women faculty—and any faculty member attempting a collaborative, participatory approach to teaching—to spell out for students and colleagues the methods, learning objectives, and overall goals for the class.

Gender as a Factor in Peer Review

> A Black faculty member was teaching her first class when a white male faculty member passed by the open door. As the class was about to end, he waited until the students left the room, looked in and asked,
>
> "Are you a faculty member here?" She replied affirmatively.
>
> "Do you have a doctorate?" Again she replied affirmatively.
>
> "Well," he commented, "at least you are educated," and then walked away.[38]

Although student ratings are now more important in faculty evaluation, final advancement and tenure decisions are still made by faculty colleagues and administrators: department chairs, deans, and faculty review committees.[39] A primary reason for the inclusion of a recommendation by a committee of peers as a key part of the faculty evaluation process has been the assumption that a committee would "balance out" the potential bias of any one individual for or against a candidate.

However, as recent evaluation research has demonstrated, perceptual bias based on gender or race is apt to be shared by several or most members of academic search and promotion committees—especially if the committee is composed of primarily senior male faculty—and consequently to operate subtly and invisibly unless specific efforts are made to counter it.[40]

Unfortunately, even though they try to be fair, committee members can be just as subject to bias as students; many of the factors described earlier can also affect faculty members as they evaluate women for promotion and tenure. They too may experience discomfort with women in positions of authority, such as being a professor. Or, they may not feel uncomfortable with women in *lower* positions but balk at women entering their own ranks. Faculty, like students, may act on the basis of stereotyped notions, so that they may be more comfortable with women who act in the more traditional "female" ways, and experience uneasiness with women who act like themselves—in an active, assertive manner.

Faculty members may also devalue women faculty members' accomplishments, dismissing their research and other achievements as being of lower quality, or ignoring them. One woman was told she was not getting tenure because her teaching was only "so-so," and her publication record was spotty. Yet she had been given a "best teaching" award, and her publication record well exceeded that of each tenured faculty member in her department.

Just as a few male students may exhibit overt hostility to women students, there are, unfortunately, occasions where some male faculty can only be described as hostile to women in general or to women faculty colleagues.

In addition, those women who are engaged in women's studies and/or advocating for women's equity on campus may make some men acutely uncomfortable because their scholarship and their advocacy challenge the status quo.

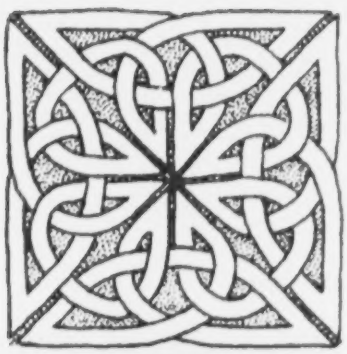
All of the factors described above can be exacerbated for women of color:

> Black men tend to fulfill the stereotype of the traditional male role in higher education. Thus they are not challenging the system to the degree that women's presence seems to represent. There is a tendency for white women to think they can survive in academia by being the good daughter—I've seen this work, and also not work. But this is a role closed to Black women.
>
> Black women are treated differently than Black males, especially in this setting where much male bonding goes on around the male culture of sports.[41]

As with student evaluation of teaching, gender bias in the peer review process can intersect with a variety of other variables. Not surprisingly, current research for a major national study on the evaluation of undergraduate teaching has "revealed generational splits between junior and senior professors, tensions over personal politics, and resentment over salary differences, particularly the perception that decisions affecting compensation are too often related to race, gender, or 'hotness' of field."[42]

Certainly, generational, "political," and compensation issues have complicated faculty evaluation and advancement decisions from time immemorial; however, in the last two decades these factors have been made more complex with issues of race and gender. The battles between the "old guard" and the "young turks" on today's campuses often break out along gender and racial lines: junior faculty are more likely to include more women and/or people of color, many of whom are also exploring the content and teaching styles of the new scholarship in women's and ethnic studies. Thus, the evaluation of a particular faculty member's professional competence is often inextricably linked (whether consciously or unconsciously) to the evaluators' knowledge about and acceptance or rejection of new areas of study, in addition to stereotypes based on gender and race.

Unless we are aware of bias and take steps to change it, the evaluation of merit will be flawed. Student learning and academe itself will be diminished. The recommendation section lists steps institutions and individual faculty members can take.



PART V

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE: RECOMMENDATIONS FOR MAKING THE CLASSROOM MORE EQUITABLE FOR EVERYONE

THE CHALLENGE TO COEDUCATION

One of the major issues which must be faced in the coming century is that of gender and race in the classroom: How do we bring about classroom equity? It is clear that men and women sitting in the same classroom do not receive the same education. Despite the good intentions of faculty members, the classroom experiences of women, shaped by gender and race, are often different from those of their brothers who sit by their sides.

Many people have noted the advantages of single-sex education for females and suggest that this is the way to ensure that women receive a good education. Indeed, there is a growing body of research that suggests women often learn better, participate more, and have greater self-esteem when educated in single-sex institutions. The ultimate question, however, is not whether single-sex education or coeducation as we know it is better for women, but how we can improve coeducation so that it is truly coeducational, so that women and men benefit equally from it.

Changing campus climate, especially the classroom climate, is difficult because so much of what happens is inadvertent and unnoticed. Many faculty members and administrators are concerned, however, about the chilly climate; since we published the first climate report in 1982,[1] many institutions and individual faculty members have made changes to help warm up the climate.

In this section, we offer a large number of recommendations[2] that institutions and individuals can use to create their own blueprints for change. They cover a wide range of issues and are aimed not only at faculty members but also at administrators—presidents, deans, and heads of departments—and at students. The recommendations cover curriculum revision, faculty development programs, institutional policies, teaching strategies, the role of professional organizations, and evaluation of

faculty by students and peers. Not every recommendation is appropriate for all institutions or individuals, although many can be adapted to suit the needs of individual situations and institutions. We have assigned recommendations to categories, although clearly some recommendations are relevant for more than one area.

Many of the recommendations, especially those directly aimed at increasing the participation of women in the classroom, are not only useful for women but can help warm the climate for other groups as well. Some of the recommendations are not gender specific but address good teaching in general. Some recommendations can be adapted for use with other diverse groups.

We have omitted recommendations in some areas that also have impact on the classroom climate, such as strategies for increasing the number of women faculty, even though almost all studies focusing on women students stress the need for more women faculty to serve as mentors, role models, and colleagues. Some recommendations from our first report are not repeated here.

The classroom climate is also affected by what happens elsewhere on campus. For example, male students who harass female students in the cafeteria can affect women's self-esteem, which, in turn, affects how they feel about themselves, both in general as well as in the classroom. The climate of the entire institution can affect what happens in the classroom. A strong commitment from the institution's chief executive officer is critical; without it, changes are likely be neither permanent nor institution wide, because they will lack the basic support necessary to institutionalize change.

The recommendations that follow are steps institutions and individual faculty members can take in order to begin the long journey toward classroom equity.

GENERAL INSTITUTIONAL RECOMMENDATIONS

• Recognize that change in classroom climate is the responsibility of *everyone*, not only faculty, not only women, not only the administration. Recognize that change is an ongoing process, that dealing with the climate issue once (or even several times) will not solve the problem once and for all.

• Work actively to create an atmosphere in which women's issues are considered institutional issues of concern to everyone, where issues of differential treatment in the classroom and elsewhere can be discussed, problems identified, and strategies developed.

• Recognize that the problems of sexism and racism cannot be solved by simply making a few changes here and there, and that a comprehensive, institution-wide plan and program are essential.

• Ensure that all efforts concerning equity for women include women of color.

• Examine the impact of policies and programs aimed at helping women. Recognize that policies and programs may often help *some* women but may not help or apply to *all* women.

• Develop strategies and programs to educate all members of the academic community, including trustees, undergraduate and graduate students, all faculty and staff, including those in professional schools, about differential treatment and the forms it takes, and about the institution's commitment to make the climate more equitable.

• Recognize that the institution's commitment to diversity in hiring and in student enrollment needs to be accompanied by diversity in the curriculum as well.

• Develop a university-wide committee to explore the problem of the chilly classroom climate and to develop an annual report with recommendations and strategies. Include male and female faculty members and undergraduate and graduate students. Deans and

department chairs can also appoint similar committees where appropriate. Develop a yearly timetable for the report and for implementation of the recommendations. Publicize the report when it is completed.

• Alternatively, use existing structures and offices, such as undergraduate and graduate student organizations, student life office, faculty development center, women's center, and campus committee on the status of women, working together or alone, to evaluate the classroom climate for women.

• Monitor these groups and offices to ensure they are knowledgeable and that they incorporate climate issues into their ongoing activities, their mission statements, and mandates. Require them to address climate issues and to describe in periodic reviews and annual reports how they are dealing with them.

• Include in recruiting and acceptance materials for students at the undergraduate and graduate levels information about the institution's commitment to good teaching and to ending the chilly climate in its classrooms.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ADMINISTRATORS

Administrators often set the tone for the institution, the division, and the department. By giving personal attention and support as well as institutional support and resources, administrators communicate their expectations about their unit.

• Incorporate a statement about the classroom climate into the institution's mission statement on good teaching. If appropriate, do the same at the division and department levels.

• Develop a policy or statement that explicitly prohibits sexist behavior by faculty or students in graduate and undergraduate classrooms. Give examples in the policy to ensure that all understand what kind of behaviors are prohibited. Publicize and distribute the statement widely, including to newly hired faculty and teaching assistants.

• Develop information and materials about academic freedom, the First Amendment, professors' rights, and students' right to learn in a non-hostile environment and to have equal access to learning. There is often a wide discrepancy between what faculty members *think* academic freedom is and what the courts have actually said about it. (See box on freedom of speech in the classroom, Part I.)

• Designate a specific office and staff member to be responsible for evaluating and reporting on women's climate concerns for the entire campus. The person should have access to top administrators. Individual schools, units, and departments may also do the same.

• Develop a strategy to periodically inform all faculty that sexist behavior in the classroom will not be tolerated. Department chairs might be the logical persons to do this.

• Ensure that your current grievance procedures can handle both undergraduate and graduate student complaints about inequities in the classroom or in related learning situations that are caused by faculty or by students.

• Ensure that these problems can be handled informally and formally. If necessary, revise existing policy or develop a new one. Publicize how problems can be resolved informally and formally.

• Develop graduate and undergraduate student standards for behavior toward each other in the classroom and toward faculty members. Include them in the student code of behavior, along with examples of behaviors that will not be tolerated. Publicize the code and disseminate it regularly, such as at the start of each academic year; distribute it to new students at orientation or upon admission.

• Develop (or modify) and publicize policies that allow faculty members and/or department chairs to bring charges against undergraduate and graduate students who are disruptive, who create a hostile environment for other students, and who have not been responsive to informal measures. (The policy should encourage

informal resolution, such as mediation or the use of an ombudsperson, but should also include formal procedures, including sanctions. The policy should address nonverbal behavior, such as offensive gestures, as well as verbal behavior.)

• Develop a policy to ensure that non-sexist language is used in official institutional publications. A number of institutions, such as the University of New Hampshire, have done this.

• Develop a procedure whereby recruiting materials are examined for gender bias in pictures and text.

• Encourage or, if possible, require search committees to develop criteria for hiring related to the chilly climate,[3] such as asking candidates, "what steps do you take to encourage women to speak out in class?"

• Require deans, division heads, and department chairs to include in their annual reports information

COMPUTER HARASSMENT: A NEW ISSUE

• Ensure that computer harassment is covered by your sexual harassment policy or by a separate policy.

• Develop ways to inform students that they cannot use computers to demean or harass other students. The University of Delaware utilizes a test to ensure that students understand the rules for using campus computers, such as copyright restrictions on software and password security. Standards for non-sexist behavior could easily be added to such a procedure.

• Develop ways to intervene when students harass others via computers. Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) has developed a set of procedures to deal with harassment on its computer networks.[4] The "Stopit" mechanisms are based on a simple proposition: that most offenders, given the opportunity to stop uncivil behavior without having to admit guilt, will do so.

MIT's Stopit mechanisms attempt to rapidly discover harassment, improper use, and other uncivil behavior, and to communicate effectively with the perpetrators. Here is how it works:

A Stopit poster is displayed prominently in all public computer facilities and facsimiles appear in printed and online documents. The poster encourages people who are victims of computer harassment to respond and gives them several options: to call campus police if they are in danger and want to register a complaint; to talk to someone off the record during the academic year; to talk to someone off the record during the week, all year (counselor or ombudsperson); to file a complaint with the dean of student affairs; and to receive help via e-mail.

Mail sent to the *stopit@mit.ed* mailing address goes to senior directors in Information Systems, who respond quickly and appropriately. A number of responses have been designed for violations of rules of computer usage, such as tying up multiple work stations, harassment or offensive behavior, and other misbehavior.

A carefully-structured standard note is sent to alleged perpetrators:

"Someone using your account did [whatever the offense is]."

The note then explains why the behavior is offensive or violates MIT's harassment policy, rules of use, or whatever.

"Account holders are responsible for the use of their accounts. If you were unaware that your account was being used in this way, it may have been compromised. User Accounts can help you change your password and re-secure your account."

Detailed instructions on how to change the password follow.

The note concludes, *"If you were aware that your account was being used to [whatever it was], then we trust you will take steps to ensure that this does not happen again."*

The results have been very positive. Many recipients of the notes go to User Accounts, say that their account has been compromised, and change their password, even though eyewitnesses or other evidence make it clear they personally were the offenders. Even more important, there is virtually no repetition of the offensive or harassing behavior.

Even though the recipient concedes no guilt and receives no punishment, the behavior stops.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

about the steps they are taking to improve the chilly classroom climate.

• Ensure that issues concerning women of color receive attention when programs concerning people of color are developed. For example, in programs to recruit African Americans, ensure that the needs of African American women are included.

• Encourage the development of groups for women of color.

• Prohibit or discourage block enrollment in courses. Block enrollment allows fraternity members and members of athletic teams to enroll as a group. Faculty members relate that male group enrollment often leads to increased hostility to women students and sometimes to women faculty members as well.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PRESIDENTS, DEANS, DIVISION HEADS, AND DEPARTMENT CHAIRS

General Recommendations

• Ensure that the concerns of specific groups of women—women of color, women in graduate and professional schools, lesbian women, older women, disabled women, and women in fields which have been traditionally male—are not overlooked in general efforts to improve the chilly climate.

• Ensure that at staff and faculty meetings you do not inadvertently treat women and men differently. Many of the behaviors described in this report occur at meetings as well as in classrooms.

• Develop supports for women students, via a women's center or women's support groups, such as a graduate women's organization or women in engineering group.

• Track the numbers of students by sex by race in your department or division, e.g., white women, white men, African American men, African American women. Collecting data by race by sex helps ensure that the problems of women of color are not hidden. Examine attrition rates by sex by race for students who declare a major and then change it later. Examine grades and the numbers of students going on to graduate studies by sex and race. If there are differences by sex, by race, or by sex and race, as in the case of African American women, the department or division may be inhospitable to the group that is dropping out. Find out why. Conduct exit interviews with students who leave a department to ascertain if an inequitable climate was related to their departure.

• Meet periodically with women students to gain feedback about the climate in the department or school.

• Develop exhibits about women—women in science, women authors, women's history.

• Develop bulletin boards about women in your area, such as women in science or women in mathematics.

• Provide financial support to bring in outside experts to speak on gender. At one school with strict budgetary restraints, six groups (office of the dean, human resources, faculty teaching resource group, faculty gender studies committee, faculty/staff multicultural committee, and student education club) pooled their money to bring in a speaker.

• Conduct a study, in cooperation with students, of the chilly classroom climate by using a survey, observation of classes, interviews with students, focus groups, or other methods. Publicize the results and develop a process for strategizing change.

• Informally ask heads of units what they are doing to ensure an equitable classroom climate as a way of gathering information and communicating your concern about the issue.

• Develop special programs to encourage women to enter and stay in the sciences, mathematics, and engineering. Many schools sponsor women in science and women in engineering programs. As part of their mandate, these programs should be concerned about the chilly classroom climate.

• Shift first-year science courses from the "weeding-out" model to a model which encourages learning and lays a foundation for further science courses.[9]

• Ensure that extracurricular activities for units, departments, and groups of students include activities appropriate for women as well as men. A departmental basketball game may well exclude almost all women; a department volleyball game is more likely to provide some men and women an opportunity to participate together. Activities other than sports should be included.

• Encourage faculty to include women, including women of color and women from other different populations, in informal activities with students.

• Ensure that programs such as films and speaker series include women from diverse groups.

• Institutional approaches to recruiting and retaining women students of color (as well as white women and men of color) are often based on a "deficit" model. This view is that problems reside primarily in the student, and if the institution can provide some remedial services, the individual will fit into the institution successfully. A more comprehensive approach that seeks institutional change and develops a more encouraging environment both in and out of the classroom might include support programs and supportive, accessible faculty, including faculty of color, as essential components of a successful recruiting and retention program.

• Encourage faculty, in descriptions of their courses, to include what teaching methods will be used, so that students will be able to seek out the learning environments in which they can most readily think and learn.[10]

Increasing Awareness About the Classroom Climate

• Ensure that efforts and information to improve the classroom climate recognize the experiences and concerns of women of color.

• Ensure that temporary and part-time faculty members, including teaching assistants, receive the same information about classroom climate issues as do full-time faculty.

• Ensure that personnel in the faculty development program are knowledgeable about gender issues in the classroom, are prepared to offer relevant resources, and engage in activities such as the following:

Developing and presenting programs on the chilly classroom climate

Incorporating issues about the chilly classroom climate in all faculty development programs

Training interested faculty to conduct classroom climate workshops and seminars for their departments, other groups, and students[11]

Training interested faculty to be observers in their colleagues' classes, in order to provide them with feedback about their treatment of men and women students

Providing video taping and audio taping of classrooms

Providing materials on how gender affects course materials

Providing individual consultation on this issue.

• Include information about the chilly classroom climate in training and materials provided to graduate teaching assistants and laboratory assistants.

• Include other gender issues in training of faculty and teaching assistants. The University of New Mexico surveyed teaching assistants about problems concerning gender in the classroom and in the department. Based on the responses, they gave teaching assistants abbreviated scenarios concerning gender, such as a male assistant's concern about being viewed as sexist by his students.

and used them as the basis for a training session. Similar scenarios could also be used with faculty.

• Develop workshops for faculty on handling racist and sexist comments and disruptions in the classroom and to help faculty handle frank discussions.

• Include information about the institution's concern about the chilly classroom climate in materials provided to new and prospective faculty members.

• In interviewing prospective faculty members, ask questions that explore their concern for and awareness of climate issues. For example, inquire as to how they encourage women's participation, or what their thoughts are about women's education.[8]

• Develop criteria for assessing an equitable learning climate to be used in evaluating prospective faculty members.

• Develop criteria on the classroom climate to be used in evaluating faculty members for promotion and tenure.

• Use the chilly classroom climate as a topic of discussion at general faculty meetings, retreats, convocations, and other college-wide programs, lecture series, and departmental seminars.

• Provide a continuing forum to address the classroom climate and related issues. The Women's Studies Program at the University of Illinois at Chicago has conducted a discussion group for several years, addressing topics such as

> How to overcome the silence of women and minority students in the classroom.
>
> How to teach about race and racism.
>
> What characterizes a "feminist" pedagogy?
>
> How can a teacher challenge racist, sexist, or heterosexist statements without squelching free expression?
>
> How should a teacher respond when students become angry with each other about issues of race, gender, sexual orientation?
>
> Do students from varying ethnic and social class backgrounds have different pedagogical needs?
>
> How can a teacher most effectively incorporate issues of diversity into the curriculum?[9]

• Mention the chilly climate in speeches and articles you or your office write.

• Encourage the student newspaper to publish articles exploring the chilly classroom climate. One committee ran a survey about equity in the classroom in the student newspaper.

Using Materials to Increase Awareness

• Circulate articles, lists of resources, newspaper clippings, and other materials on the chilly classroom climate.

• Develop materials and programs about strategies to deal with student behaviors that create a chilly classroom climate.

• Publish materials on the chilly climate.

The University of Michigan Women's Issues Commission of the Michigan Student Assembly together with the Task Force on Climate Issues of the President's Advisory Commission on Women's Issues surveyed students to collect first-person accounts of positive and negative experiences in the academic environment. A 20-page booklet contains student responses (without identifying information) in sections on sexual innuendoes, language usage, stereotypes, invisibility, interruptions, sensitivity, and backlash. It also includes a short conclusion, a list of questions for faculty and students to think about, and a list of campus resources.[10]

The College of Engineering, University of California at Davis, published a 12-page booklet, "Creating Gender Equity in Your Teaching," which describes a series of classroom interactions and includes recommendations on what faculty members can do. Some of the issues covered include setting the tone, establishing class norms, using gender-sensitive materials, setting response etiquette, allowing wait time, organizing lab and work groups, giving encouragement, monitoring interruptions, raising

confidence, avoiding stereotypes, monitoring student interactions, using inclusive language, being aware of gender-related patterns of communication, and avoiding gender-based assumptions. A list of campus resources and selected references is also included.[1]

• Support a campus newsletter devoted to gender equity in the classroom. Alternatively, include materials on classroom gender equity in existing newsletters.

• Send articles about classroom climate or other materials, such as a copy of this report, to the provost, division head, and each department head, asking that they evaluate their units, develop appropriate programs, and provide information on their activities. Include in a cover letter suggestions on how the materials can be used, such as in discussion at faculty meetings. Some schools sent our earlier report to every faculty member.

• Develop a packet of materials on the chilly climate—a pamphlet or booklet, a quiz for faculty or students, suggestions for discussion, fact sheets, and other resources at your institution.

• Develop a faculty guidebook on the chilly climate, with checklists and suggestions for warming it up. Distribute the guidebook with a cover letter from your president, urging people to read it and use its recommendations.

• Develop for students a brochure or flyer about the chilly climate which describes the issue, suggests how they can deal with it, summarizes the institution's grievance procedure, describes informal actions that can be taken, and includes resource persons to contact. Periodically and widely disseminate these materials.

Developing Programs for Faculty Members and Others

• Develop programs about the chilly climate in general as a way to help people on campus understand the chilly climate for women in the classroom.

• Hold a conference on the chilly campus climate. Include presentations in which students relate their classroom experiences. At one New England college, students spoke about their experiences to an all-faculty group.

• Conduct one or more meetings about the chilly climate for trustees, academic deans, and executive officers.

• Conduct a meeting about the chilly classroom climate for all women's studies students.

• Conduct retreats or faculty meetings on gender equity within divisions or departments.

• Develop programs on the chilly climate for faculty and students at the department or division level. For information about designing a workshop on the chilly classroom climate, see *Teaching Faculty Members to be Better Teachers: A Guide to Equitable and Effective Classroom Techniques*, listed in the section on Resources. Consider offering a joint faculty/student program.

• Develop programs and materials designed to educate students about the chilly classroom climate. If women can identify and recognize differential behaviors, they are less likely to be harmed by these behaviors. Although they may become angry, their self-confidence is less likely to be affected. And, if such behaviors occur and women are aware of them, they can make choices as to whether and how they want to deal with them, and can also develop strategies for change. Even though the chilly climate is an institutional problem needing institutional solutions, students can play a role, too. Programs about the chilly climate can also help male students change their behaviors toward women students and faculty.

• In whatever programs you develop, do not blame men. Male bashing is not helpful, especially since some women also inadvertently engage in gender-biased behavior. The problem is not men, it is gender bias in our society.

• Use training programs and materials to ensure that faculty understand what sexual harassment is, so they will not be fearful of working with women students in and out of the classroom.

• Engage the highest-level sponsorship of programs about equitable classrooms. A committed dean or president can then, via letter, invite faculty and others to attend.

Encouraging Research and Innovation on the Classroom Climate

• Reward departments and individuals who work toward improving equity in the classroom. Use released time, summer funding, provision of support staff, and other incentives to encourage people to work on these issues. Publicize their activities in a way that makes clear the extent of the institution's commitment.

• Establish awards for innovative work on the classroom climate.

• Encourage faculty to do research or develop programs to bring about gender equity. Include, if possible, competitive stipends for these activities. Even small stipends are helpful. Such a program will also legitimize the issue of gender equity on campus.

• Support institutional research on classroom climate issues.

Dealing with Overtly Hostile Classroom Environments

• Inform faculty members (including teaching assistants) about the legal ramifications and institutional policy concerning sexual jokes and comments and negative comments about women in general that can create a hostile learning environment. Help faculty members understand that such remarks, which create a poor learning environment, can be indicative of poor teaching and thus may violate their contracts with the institution. Couching the problem in terms of a good learning environment rather than as a First Amendment issue can be helpful. Faculty members need to recognize that freedom of speech does not justify verbal harassment; disagreement about ideas is not the issue, but rather how that disagreement is expressed. Using the First Amendment to justify poor teaching should not be allowed: a teacher's right to say something does not mean it is appropriate or useful in creating a positive learning environment.

• When students are disruptive, overtly sexist toward women, or hostile to racial or ethnic groups—whether in the classroom or outside it—be willing to publicly invoke disciplinary procedures if the problem cannot be resolved informally. If student disciplinary procedures cannot be invoked, then use shame as a public means of dealing with this issue. Official condemnation, such as an open letter to the community printed in the student newspaper, can be helpful in supporting those who are concerned about the behavior, generating campus discussion about these issues and developing community consensus about such behavior.

• Actively discourage and express disapproval of sexist behaviors, jokes, or remarks wherever they occur, by indicating that such behavior is not acceptable.

• Respond to sexist and racist graffiti by condemning it openly and arranging for prompt removal:

> When sexist and racist graffiti was discovered in the stairwells of the University of Houston's college of architecture, the dean of the school, Robert Timme, called a school meeting and condemned the graffiti.
>
> Some schools, such as Syracuse University, have routine inspection programs to find graffiti and remove it from dining rooms, bathrooms, library carrels, and other public spaces.

• Respond when students complain about a faculty member's bias in the classroom, even if no formal charges are brought. Intervene with the teacher. Sometimes, appealing to a teacher's concern about good teaching can help solve the problem. Cast the issue as a learning matter, instead of focusing on the "right" of faculty members to teach any way they want. Stress that the teacher's behavior is getting in the way of learning. Inform both parties about how the situation is being resolved.

• Allow the student to transfer if necessary, but recognize this helps only one student, not those who remain or follow.

• Do not recast gender or racial bias in the classroom as an individual problem, one of interpersonal conflict or differences. Gender bias is a public, institutional, and social problem.

• Do not condone foreign-born professors and students who exhibit hostile or harassing behavior toward female students. Faculty members have an obligation to treat all students fairly, even if this goes against their cultural beliefs. "Coming from another culture" is not a defense to a charge of sexual harassment or discrimination.

Revising the Curriculum (Recommendations for individual faculty members appear later.)

Much has been written in the last decade about how to integrate women into the curriculum. The recommendations that follow are just a small sample. For more information, see the section on Resources.

• Recognize that changing the curriculum to include women in a significant and thoughtful way is a major effort requiring a commitment of time and resources from the institution. Provide administrative support and financial resources for stipends and/or released time for project directors and participants.[12] This is a long-range development effort that may take several years.

• Develop a campus-wide committee to gather information and make recommendations for the institution. Include senior faculty members and others. Involve as many faculty members as possible in the process; those who are not members of the committee can participate by reading proposals or signing support statements.

• Ensure that all institutional efforts to integrate "women" into the curriculum include women of color.

• Develop departmental committees to work on this issue and incorporate climate issues into the work of existing curriculum committees. Be sure to include senior faculty members.

• Develop a board of trustees committee to work on this issue.

• Use financial incentives and released time to help individuals and departments engage in curriculum revision, including attending conferences on and off campus.

• Develop a method for faculty to evaluate courses for content on women and people of color.

• Mobilize faculty support, especially senior faculty. Seek out faculty already committed to diversity.

• As part of institutional efforts, emphasize from the beginning how feminist theory and women's experiences are concerned with race, class, ethnicity, and sexual orientation; don't try to discuss just "gender," as a simpler, less-threatening approach.[13]

• Develop faculty groups to discuss progress and problems and to motivate faculty to take new risks.[14]

• Hold a university or system-wide conference to explore the problem. For example, hold a conference or panel for faculty discussing curriculum integration, or a conference where students of diverse backgrounds—class, gender, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, ethnicity, and national origin—discuss the curriculum and how the university could respond better to their learning needs.[15]

• Invite outside speakers to discuss the issue as part of existing seminar or speaker programs.

• Arrange to have compiled a list of library resource materials on women. Include books about women of color and other groups of women. Most people are unaware of existing institutional resources.

• Set up a department committee or group of students and faculty to compile a bibliography which is discipline specific.

• Give awards for student proposals to develop research and document the contributions of women in particular academic areas. (The University of Minnesota, Morris, did this.)

• Set up a department committee of faculty and students to examine textbooks for bias.

• Develop special courses on women of color.

• Hold conferences and workshops for faculty members and students concerning women of color.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR INDIVIDUAL FACULTY MEMBERS

Good teachers obviously want to be fair to all of their students. Many of the recommendations in this section are directly aimed at helping faculty members treat women and men students equitably. Many could simply be described as ideas for helping teachers become better teachers; others are aimed specifically at ensuring that women receive encouragement and opportunities to participate.

Where possible, we have given credit to the originators of some of these strategies; however, the vast majority of these suggestions were given to us over the years by participants in teaching effectiveness workshops we have conducted and whose names we do not know. We are grateful for their help.

Setting the Tone Early in the Semester

• Tell students you expect them to participate, though not necessarily verbally, every day. Allow students to say "I pass" or something similar when you call on them to indicate that they are not participating verbally that day. (This approach has the side benefit of encouraging students to attend class even if they have not read the materials.)[16]

• Define participation broadly—asking questions, answering questions, and listening respectfully to others. Consider additional outside work, such as participating in an activity related to the course, as a form of class participation.

• Tell students if they have trouble participating in class to see you privately, so you can work something out. When students come to you with such a problem, work out a way to enhance their participation:

> Tell the student about the topic for the following week, what questions you are going to ask the class. *Rehearse the answers with the student.* (The aim of the exercise is to help the student become comfortable with participation, not learning per se.) When the student does participate, give praise and encouragement immediately after, and meet again to discuss and provide additional encouragement and to see what other steps are needed to maintain the student's participation.[17]

• If some students do not participate despite your best efforts, make appointments to see them individually or ask them to talk to you after class. Explain your concern and ask if there is anything you can do to help. If accurate, emphasize that you notice the student is clearly engaged in listening. Often simply talking to a student about lack of participation will change the behavior.[18]

• Establish rules of class behavior at the first session of the class. This helps students understand what behaviors are expected of them and what behaviors are unacceptable.

• Develop a handout describing what constitutes appropriate behavior toward other students and discuss this topic during the first class session. (Institutions or departments could develop these materials for use by everyone.) Rich of the department of kinesiology at the University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana, puts a note in her syllabus that she will ensure that all students have an equal voice in her classroom, whatever their gender, race, ethnicity, or sexuality, and reiterates this at the first session of her class:

> As a professor at the University of Illinois, I endeavor to ensure that this classroom is free of any harassment which has the purpose or effect of creating an intimidating, hostile, or offensive environment. Furthermore, I will ensure that each female and male has an equal voice in this class and that each voice is equally valued.

> Any student who feels harassed on the basis of her or his race, ethnic or cultural background, sex, or sexual orientation is encouraged to report this harassment to me or an appropriate intake person.

The statement concludes with the name of the person who has information about complaint procedures.[19]

One instructor, appalled at the way male laboratory partners were treating females, drew up a list of rules for the next semester's class about how to treat lab partners, without mentioning gender. The instructor handed these out and discussed them during the first class session; as a result, exploitative behavior toward women laboratory partners ceased to be a problem.

Encouraging Students, Especially Women, to Participate

• Encourage students to participate by including in the first session open-ended questions which have no right or wrong answers: "What do you hope to get out of this class?" You can help students learn more about each other by asking students questions about their major, what knowledge of the subject they bring to the class, and what issues they hope to see covered in the class. Such questions allow all students to participate and to see your response to them. The faculty member should be non-judgmental, encouraging, and responsive.

• Ask students to write down their impressions of the first day's session. This indicates your concern about what is happening in class, suggests that students have responsibility for their own learning, and gives you information about concerns they may have been too hesitant to raise openly in class.

• Encourage students to tell you if you inadvertently behave in a manner that is sexist or racially offensive. A teaching assistant at the University of Michigan told this to his classes, saying he wanted to know right away if someone was upset.[20]

• Make a point of encouraging silent students by calling on them, praising them for their efforts, and using some of the other strategies described in this report.

• Keep a teaching diary, especially at the beginning of the semester. Record in it which students are contributing and which ones are not. A student contact log or other records which keep track of student-teacher interactions can also be helpful in tracking differential patterns.

• To the extent possible, learn students' names and make sure you call women by name as often as you do men. Kramarae of the University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana takes pictures of her students to help her learn their names. By using a computer, she is able to distribute the pictures to the class to help them also learn each other's names.

• Call on women directly, even if they don't raise their hands.

• Because women often think through an answer *before* raising their hands, do not call on the first hand that comes up. Wait five or ten seconds (try counting 1000, 2000, 3000, 4000, 5000) before calling on anyone. In one study of college classrooms, the amount of wait-time between a teacher's question and a student's answer was on average 2.25 *seconds;* the average time between a student's response and the teacher's response was .45 seconds.[21] The latter response affects length of student participation, i.e., responding quickly when a student speaks may cut off the student's elaboration.

• Do not respond too quickly when a student speaks; allowing some silence may encourage further elaboration.

• When you ask a specific question, ask everyone not to raise their hands yet, telling them instead to think about their answer. Endure 10 to 15 seconds of silence (maybe more) and then ask for answers.

• Tell the class you will not call on anyone until at least five people have raised their hands, and then do not necessarily call on the person who raised his or her hand first. (If fewer than five people raise their hand, you may have to alter the rule.)

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• Tell everyone to write down for themselves their answers to a question or one element of the answer and then ask for answers. Many people are more willing to participate once they have worked out their response.

• Coach women as well as men with comments and questions such as:

"Tell me more."

"Why do you think that is?"

Coaching conveys your belief that the student is bright enough to say more.

• Use questions that have no wrong answers, in order to encourage students to participate. Questions such as "What do you think about that?" or "What do you feel about that?" are helpful in opening up a discussion. Another kind of question without wrong answers is "What kinds of questions are you left with concerning [today's, yesterday's] session?" This is sometimes called "problem posting."[22]

• Ask students to come to the next class session with a question for discussion.

• Tell students during a class session one or more questions which will be discussed during the next class. This allows them to prepare and be more willing to risk participation. You might give different questions to different groups of students.

• Sometimes, it is helpful to have a "class within a class." This is easier in a classroom with moveable chairs, where an inner circle can be set up. The students in the inner circle are the class, the rest of the students, observers. McKeachie tells his students that he wants to give some of the quieter members of the class an opportunity to express their ideas. Although this approach singles out some students, he finds that it increases participation.[23] Others reverse the groups, so that all have an opportunity to participate. Some people simply divide the class at random into two groups.

• Ask students to cite other students' contributions when they speak and their response is related to them.

• Try to call on women and men in rough proportion to their ratio in the classroom.

• Knowing about a non-participating student's special interests, experiences, or expertise can be helpful in drawing that person into discussion. "Susan, you worked in a factory over the summer; what is your thinking about opportunities for blue-collar workers to move up the promotion ladder?" You can collect background information about students by having them fill out cards or tell the class about themselves during the first session.

• Sometimes women students (and others) may become discouraged about their ability to learn the materials in a particular class. They may become inattentive, worried, or ready to give up. Bringing in former students who can tell the class about their frustrations and how they surmounted them can be helpful. If it is not possible to do this during class, do it as part of an extracurricular program, such as a program for women in engineering or for all first-year students in chemistry.

• Watch for nonverbal cues, such as leaning forward or making eye contact. These may indicate readiness to participate.

• Use the same tone of voice when talking to women and to men students. Don't be impatient or condescending.

• Avoid the so-called generic "he" or "mankind." When you use the phrase "he or she," you communicate your awareness of women's concerns and make the classroom a more hospitable place.

• Avoid describing women professionals as "women doctors" or "women accountants" or even worse, "lady lawyers."

• Don't single out women students for not participating. Don't say "I wish the women would talk more." Instead, encourage women individually in some of the ways discussed here, or discuss in a general manner why it is difficult for some students to participate.

• Because students often segregate themselves by gender, teachers can encourage women to participate without singling them out simply by mentally dividing the class into quadrants, or ninths (as in a tic-tac-toe game) or referring to a particular area and saying, "I haven't heard from the back quarter of the class," if that's where the non-participators are.[24]

• Stand at one side of the room and look across the room to the far side when you speak. Standing near a group of students can help create a sense of inclusion with the faculty member; eye contact does the same. Standing near one group of students and looking at them at the same time may make other students feel less included in the dialogue.[25]

• Get feedback about the class *early* in the semester, rather than waiting for end-term student evaluations, when it is too late for you to apply what you have learned from the class. Mid-term, or even earlier, evaluations can give you feedback you can use.

• Obtain daily feedback from the class. End the class one or two minutes early and ask students to anonymously fill out 3 x 5 index cards, or include their names if they want responses from the faculty member. Cross at the University of California at Berkeley asks: "What is the main point you learned in class today?" "What is the main unanswered question you leave class with today?"[26] Or at the beginning or the end of a class period, you can ask students to list the five most important things they have learned so far (or in the previous class) and two questions they would like to ask.[27]

Such questions help students take a more active role in their learning by helping them evaluate it. Because the questions also indicate the teacher's interest in their thoughts and concern about their learning, they may increase students' sense of worth and encourage them to express themselves in writing, which for some, may be a precursor to oral participation in class. By communicating that you value their comments, you are indirectly encouraging them to participate and also communicating that they are, in part, responsible for their learning. It can help you evaluate your own effectiveness.

Using Praise, Feedback, and Remediation

• Use praise, feedback (evaluation), and remediation (specific suggestions for improvement) as *deliberate strategies* to encourage students to learn and participate.

• Examine your teaching behavior to see which students get the most and best responses. You can examine how you use

Praise

Criticism or evaluation (feedback on performance)

Remediation or correction (help and suggestions for improvement)

Acceptance (such as "ok" or "uh-huh").

The first three are important in student learning and self-esteem; the fourth merely indicates that a student has spoken and passively implies that nothing dreadful or particularly good was said.

• When a student deserves it, offer praise. "I like what you said." or "Good." (An "ok" or "uh-huh" does not qualify as praise.) Because women may be more likely to be concerned about relationships, have less self-esteem, and generally receive less praise in the classroom, faculty may get *more* response to their efforts at encouragement when they praise women than when they praise men students.

• When a student has made a useful contribution to the class, give her credit by mentioning it later: "What Mary said before is really the heart of the matter." Giving credit is a powerful form of praise.

• Give men and women praise for the same qualities. Sometimes men are praised for their talents ("You're really smart.") and women for their hard work ("I can see you put in a lot of time.").

• Where appropriate, encourage women to think of careers in your field, by coupling the encouragement with praise: "You have such a good grasp of mathematics; have you thought of working with math as a profession?" Do this during class, in informal conversations outside class, and during academic advising.

• Use personal encounters outside the classroom to encourage and praise. When Wellesley alumnae were asked for a memory of a campus incident that profoundly changed their life, 57 percent related a non-academic event, such as being praised by a faculty member during a chance encounter or an office visit. Praise can validate students' ability, indirectly encourage them to participate more, and increase their self-esteem. Poor self-esteem is directly related to less risk-taking, increased self-blaming, lower academic and vocational aspirations, and a greater sense of failure.[28]

• Keep in mind that praise about a woman's appearance, rather than her work, does not bear much relationship to learning or intellectual self-esteem.

• Give feedback as quickly as possible. For example, give an example of a correct response as soon as students hand in an examination or class assignment.[29]

• Give feedback in a precise manner. ("Your paper is unfocused" is not as helpful as "It is hard to tell what the main ideas are in each section.")

• Give detailed, concrete strategies for revision of papers and improvement of work such as, "Make an outline consisting of sentences, with one sentence capturing the main idea of each paragraph."[30]

• Allow students to correct their work based on faculty comments and hand in their revised versions. This is particularly appropriate for papers and essays.[31]

USING CRITICISM IN THE CLASSROOM

Because some women may take criticism more personally and may view it as more serious than intended, give thought as to how to help all students become more responsive and less frightened of criticism.

• Demystify the criticism process by talking about it or at least handing out written materials. Do this early in the semester, if not in the first session.

• Discuss how criticism makes many students, especially first-year students, feel inadequate, in order to help students recognize that although criticism can be perceived as wounding, it is also helpful. Talk about how you use criticism, and give students reassurance about themselves.

• Insofar as it is possible, give criticism in the form of a question. "How would your answer change if you took into account the economic implications?" is less threatening than, "Your answer is wrong. You did not take into account the economic implications."

• Give criticism in a way that encourages students to work harder. Sometimes this can be accomplished by including praise along with the specific suggestions for change such as "I know you can do better; what you need to do is redo the experiment and keep an eye on the changes in the fluids," or "This isn't up to your usual good work. You need to include more descriptions of the problems."

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Using Collaboration as a Means of Increasing Participation

There are innumerable ways to use cooperative learning in the classroom. We have included a small number only to show examples of what faculty members can do. (See the Resource List for sources of additional information.) Some recommendations also appear elsewhere in this report.

• Before using collaborative strategies, learn about the group process and how to counteract gender bias in groups by reading, talking to others, and attending workshops.

• Faculty members need to tell students why they are engaging them in a more interactive way and why it is important for them to learn how to work cooperatively. One professor states in her syllabus that the more professional one becomes, the more he or she will have to rely on groups to complete work; that groups have become the basic task mode or structural unit at most organizations; and that groups allow people an opportunity to work with people of a different gender, race, class, and sexual orientation.[52]

• Allow students to express concerns about group activities, especially those who have little experience with groups and prefer traditional lectures. When using collaborative groups, allow truly resistant students to work independently only after they have had some experience with groups and have evaluated the experience with you.[53]

• Show your commitment to collaborative activities by co-planning, co-designing, co-teaching, and co-evaluating curricular materials with colleagues.[54]

• Don't grade on a curve. It encourages competition among students and may discourage some students from helping each other because, when grading is relative, helping another student learn more may lower one's own grade.

• Use study groups as a way to increase participation and learning. Study groups are helpful when they meet (after students have read the assignment) to raise questions. The Harvard Assessment Seminars found that men were more likely to study in groups than women, but that those women who did found it helpful, as both a learning and a personal experience. In addition, women science students who studied in a study group were less likely to leave science and migrate to another department.[55] Study groups need to ensure, however, that women will have an opportunity to participate. Harvard used the following strategies:[56]

> Students were asked to take turns leading the group.
>
> When it was a person's turn to lead the group, the person met with the professor or teaching assistant to plan the session and then afterwards, to evaluate and debrief.
>
> Discussion leaders were also told to encourage *everyone* to speak, e.g., women were not singled out as needing encouragement.

• Encourage students to work in teams. Robin L. Bartlett at Denison University writes in her syllabus for Introductory Economics,

> You can do all the course work by yourself or you can form a team with as many of your classmates as you want. Teams will work together to learn the material by teaching it to each other. When it comes time to take a test or to present an explanation of a homework problem in class, a member of the team will be chosen at random to perform the task at hand. Teams can be formed at any time during the term. Teams, however, must stay together once they are formed for the remainder of the term. The final, however, may be taken individually or as a team.

• Allow time specifically for team building; let students get to know each other. When groups first form, suggest that they introduce themselves to each other, perhaps telling about what strengths they bring to the class, what they expect out of the group, or what concerns they have about the group experience.

• Give students class time to work in groups. This accomplishes many things. First, it demonstrates to students the value you place on their interaction. Second, it eliminates the overwhelming burden of having students

arrange meetings outside of class. Assigning projects that require out-of-class work is fine, but assignments that require students to coordinate their schedules outside of class can be extremely difficult, especially for the many students who live off campus and/or work full time. While these scenarios do not apply only to women, the majority of full-time workers returning to school are women and they are also more likely to be responsible for child care as well. One teacher found that participation in out-of-class group work was unduly difficult for two of her disabled students, one male and one female, who arranged for expensive special transportation to school during the day, but did not have access to the service on weekends and evenings when peers wanted to meet. These and other complications can put an exceptional strain on group dynamics, particularly if students then perceive those peers as "uncooperative."

• Be sure that the group understands its assignments, what questions or content are to be addressed, how tasks are to be done, the amount of time for the tasks, and what the expected outcomes are.

• Use assignments that require *learning* of material, *not merely completion of a task*.[37]

• Where appropriate, give only one copy of the materials to each group, so that they must share them and discuss in a group who will do what.

• Use small groups of four to six students to briefly discuss a particular problem question. Ask the group to come up with one principle, how a principle might be applied, or a solution to a problem. Instruct group members to introduce themselves to each other, select a person who will report to the class, and then obtain from each member of the group one idea about the problem or

COMBINING A LECTURE AND COOPERATIVE LEARNING

The traditional lecture format begins with an assumption that the teacher's task is to impart knowledge and that all students need the same information. A lecture may be appropriate when the goals are to disseminate a large amount of information, present material not available elsewhere, expose students to content it may be difficult or time-consuming to locate on their own, or arouse student interest. However, like all forms of learning, lectures also have disadvantages.

• Student attention decreases as the lecture goes on; students take fewer notes as the lecture proceeds.

• Lectures benefit auditory learners more than others.

• Lectures promote only lower-level learning of factual information and are less effective in promoting thinking or attitudinal change.

In addition, a non-interactive lecture may not reach students preoccupied with occurrences just prior to class. Students may "drift off" when nothing is required of them in class. Those who become confused mid-lecture may have neither the forum nor the courage to ask for clarification.[38]

Using small learning groups or pairs of students can enhance lectures. Although the use of temporary groups that last for one discussion or one class period may shorten lecture time, they have the advantage of allowing more time for processing information and ensuring that misconceptions are cleared up before the end of class.

The 3 to 5 minute task of the discussion groups or pairs might be, for example, to answer a specific question or to elaborate on how the material relates to something previously learned.[39] Regardless of the particular task, groups or pairs are encouraged to formulate their own answers, then share answers, and together create a new answer that is typically superior to each member's initial response.

Small, informal groups or pairs can also be used as "bookends"—before the lecture to discuss the assigned reading or other information, and/or after the lecture, or interspersed every 15 minutes or so.

Depending on the task, the groups or pairs might make oral reports to the class. Sometimes groups or pairs can report by writing a short summary on an index card.

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question. Tell the group how much time they have—usually five to ten minutes.

• Give team rewards when all team members increase scores on individual tests or papers.

• Monitor groups to ensure that subtle and overt bias is not limiting women's participation. Include questions about this in your written feedback from students, such as "What was it like for you to be a woman/man in this group?"

• The following examples of cooperative learning are described by Johnson et al., listed in the Resource section. Each can be done with a group or with a pair of students.

Peer-editing. Students in a group exchange rough drafts of papers and critique each other's work to provide constructive criticism before the preparation of a final draft. Names can be removed so that none of the students in a group knows whose paper is being reviewed.

Cooperative reading. Students discuss an assigned reading prior to class. Sometimes this is done via electronic networks. These need to be monitored to ensure that women have "equal time." Rules for using electronic networks can be helpful.

Note-taking. Students take notes and trade them at the end of a class to fill in gaps each may have missed and to discuss any unclear issues; faculty can also arrange the students in cooperative note-taking pairs at the beginning of the class session.

Class presentations. Students decide how to present. This works best if it includes a mutually agreed upon division of labor that precludes the possibility of "free-riders" who do not do their share of the work.

Laboratory assignments. Roles and responsibilities rotate so that all students have an opportunity to operate equipment, record notes, and present results.

Drill-review. Students "test" each other's knowledge in preparation for a test or quiz, or simply review material.

Homework-checking. Students are assigned roles such as "checker" and "explainer;" roles should change periodically.

Jigsaw teaching strategy. Each member or only one person of each group gets a specific task. Students with task A, for example, are to learn a particular concept and plan how to teach that material to the other members of their group. Before teaching their own group, all those students in each group with task A meet together to share ideas about how the material can be best taught. The students then return to their assigned group to teach their own group members their new area of expertise. Each member in the group does the same with her or his individual assignment.[10]

Intervening When Male Students Engage in Negative Behaviors Toward Women

Under Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, institutions have an obligation to provide an environment that is free of discrimination, including sexual harassment. Faculty or student behaviors which create a hostile learning environment for women can in some instances be considered violations of Title IX. Apart from any legal reasons, however, faculty should intervene when negative behaviors occur, because they can interfere with the learning process. Here are some suggestions:

• Intervene when male students show disrespect to women students (or the reverse) through overt comments or negative body language.

• Respond swiftly and firmly when students show verbal hostility or negative body language in response to women students or their contributions. Ignoring such behavior gives the implicit message that you approve of the behavior or are unable to stop it.

• When students engage in negative body language or facial expressions in response to another student's contribution, one way to confront it openly is to say something like, "I'm noticing you are frowning (looking upset, etc.). Can you tell me why?" or "I see you look

skeptical. Let's talk about what you are thinking." The aim is to convert negative behavior into an intellectual response.

• If negative behavior persists and a student is unresponsive to your efforts in and out of the classroom, where appropriate, invoke student disciplinary procedures.

• If you are reluctant to reprimand a student publicly, tell the student *in front of the class* that you would like to see him (or her) after class. This gives the class the message that you are not willing to tolerate the behavior. Some ways to indicate your displeasure follow:

If you decide not to respond overtly, stare hard and frown at the person.

Indicate your displeasure openly, stating that you find the comment or behavior offensive, or you can say in a shocked tone, "I beg your pardon!"

You can pretend to take the comment literally or not to understand, and ask the person to repeat the comment once or twice. Then ask for an explanation from that person and/or the class. Asking for an explanation of a sexist remark or joke sometimes embarrasses the offending person and highlights the prejudice contained within the remark.

• Do not allow students to interrupt each other. Intervene and interrupt students who interrupt others. Early in the semester, perhaps at the first session, articulate the class rule that students do not interrupt each other.

• Do not allow men to squeeze women out of laboratory demonstrations. Mention at the beginning of the class or demonstration that students should arrange themselves so that all can see, and that they should allow the shorter *persons* in the front.

• Do not allow jokes or stories which make women or racial or other ethnic groups the object of laughter or ridicule. Most of these jokes and stories are offensive to these groups, although individuals may not openly complain.

SETTING UP GROUPS

Most faculty members who advocate for collaborative work recommend optimal group sizes of four or five. There is more debate about *how* groups should be formed. Should students choose or should instructors choose? Either way, based on what criteria? There are several advantages and disadvantages of each method described below. Our best advice is to consider the impact on each class, depending upon its subject matter and student composition.

Most teachers seem to prefer to choose the groups themselves. While this creates some frustration among students who might want to work with friends, it does alleviate the concern about those students who do not get "picked" when students select their own groups. It also removes the hesitation of some students to evaluate their peers objectively. Perhaps most important, when a faculty member chooses the group, there is an opportunity to form heterogeneous groups based upon gender, race, ethnicity, ability, and other relevant factors.[41]

One professor strives for homogeneity of sorts by putting high achievers and usual team leaders on one team, so that more reserved students on a different team have the opportunity to develop leadership qualities. This arrangement also keeps high achievers from feeling as if they are "carrying" other students.[42]

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• If an insulting remark has been made, do not call on the insulted person to tell how he or she feels about the remark unless he or she volunteers to do so.

Changing the Curriculum

Ways to integrate women into the curriculum are explored in numerous reports, texts, and articles, a few of which are listed in the Resource section. Following are just a few recommendations to help individual faculty members think about next steps. (Recommendations for administrators concerning curriculum appear earlier.)

• Become familiar with women's studies scholarship in your discipline; your women's studies faculty and your professional organization may be of help.

• Require or encourage all students to take a course in women's studies. Some colleges include women's studies courses among those that satisfy general education requirements. Taking a women's studies course early in their college careers can help women and men become more aware of the problems in the classroom. And, women who take women's studies courses may feel more empowered to speak up more often in their other classes.

• If students (or other faculty) resist the incorporation of diversity in the syllabus, invite them to do a content analysis to determine how much time is actually dedicated to women's works and issues and is actually spent expressly discussing or addressing persons of color. The presence of women in a syllabus is so rare that when it occurs the perception may be that an inordinate amount of time is being spent on the subject of women.

• Where appropriate, include material by and about women in general, women of color, lesbians, and other groups. Weave information throughout the course instead of ignoring it or relegating it to a single session.

• For example, professors can integrate material on lesbians throughout courses by

Including, where appropriate, materials about lesbians and avoiding the inclusion of lesbian materials only in the "deviant" or "abnormal" unit.

Allowing students to research topics and give classroom presentations on lesbians.

Including in units about families a discussion of single-parent families and about families with two mothers or fathers.[43]

Covering, in a course on women's health, materials on health risks to lesbians.

Miscellaneous Recommendations for Faculty

• Judge women's (and men's) contributions to the class by the *content* of their ideas and not by the *style* of their speech. Do not assume that an incisive style equals knowledge or that a hesitant style equals ignorance. Do not assume that women who preface their remarks with an apology ("I don't know if this makes sense, but...") are not bright or do not know the material.

• When you address the class or ask a question, do not look primarily at men or only those students you expect to respond. Be sure you look at women. Eye contact often indicates to students that you expect them to respond, and often they will.

• Avoid sexual jokes, jokes about women in general, the use of sexist humor to liven up the classroom, or sexual analogies to make a point. Talking about sex or women in a humorous fashion makes many women uncomfortable. Such behavior is often viewed as offensive and may discourage women from participating. And, as mentioned earlier, such behavior could be considered a form of sexual harassment and a violation of Title IX.

• If a student accuses you of a sexist or racially offensive remark, consider apologizing, not only to the person who raises the issue but to the class as well. One professor at the University of Michigan did this, saying that he appreciated it when people pointed out such things to him because, although he tried to be sensitive, sometimes he did not realize the effect of his words. He encouraged the students to approach him with any concerns.[44] Remember that even if the remark was not offensive to you, even if you did not intend to offend

anyone, that if it did offend someone else, it *was* offensive to that person and an apology is in order.

• Address students consistently, calling all by their last names or all by their first names. Calling men by their last names ("Mr. Smith") and women by their first name, especially the diminutive ("Suzy"), implies women are not full contributors to the class or potential professionals. It may also suggest to some students that the teacher favors women by being more informal or nicer to them.

• Use parallel terminology in describing both genders, such as "men and women," or "boys and girls," not "girls and men."

• Do not make seemingly helpful comments that disparage women's abilities, such as "I know women usually have trouble with numbers, but I'll give you some extra help."

• Do not group students by gender, since such groupings often imply that women are not as qualified as men. Do not group people by gender in order to have one gender compete with the other. In most instances, grouping people by gender violates Title IX.[45]

• Ask men and women the same kinds of questions; avoid asking men the critical thinking questions and women the factual ones.

• In lists of suggested topics for research papers or independent studies, include topics relating to women as a way of communicating to all students that these issues are legitimate. Encourage them to work on these issues. Encourage topics about women of color and other groups of women.

• Use this report or similar materials as a curriculum resource where appropriate.

• If women are the minority in classes in a predominantly male field, set up a group or program for them. Arrange for them to speak to female professionals or female students who are further ahead in the program.[46]

• Offer to write letters of recommendation for women students, some of whom may feel uneasy asking you to do so.

• Some faculty find that using the words "gender equity" rather than "sexism" or "sexist" is less threatening to some students.

• Give men and women equal attention when they speak in class. Listening attentively to men but shuffling papers and avoiding eye contact when women speak is a common form of differential treatment of women students.

• Limit or omit entirely sports and military metaphors, which many women, and some men and international students, may not understand. Using such metaphors assumes a common understanding and experience that may not exist. The assumption of a common background which one does not possess makes it embarrassing and often difficult for students to admit that they do not understand what has been said.

• Avoid examples which are not applicable to all students and may eliminate women as classroom participants. "When you were a Boy Scout, did you ever...." Addressing a class as if no women were present is exclusionary and increases a student's sense of isolation.

• If students disagree with statements or concepts dealing with gender equity and indicate their hostility or seeming indifference by negative body language, leaving the class, frowning, becoming defensive, and the like, speak to them either publicly or privately. Indicate that it is all right for them to have a different point of view, that what is expected of them is to treat their classmates and their ideas with respect and to consider these ideas.

• When there are argumentative discussions about gender, list the arguments or evidence on the blackboard. This is helpful in avoiding repetition of the same arguments and can help the class think through the problem. It is also a useful technique for other kinds of disagreements.

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• For colleagues and students who challenge the existence of a chilly climate in which men and women are treated differently, suggest that they observe committee meetings and classrooms and code the behavior according to participation, taking notes on who speaks the most, who gets called on, and who gets positive responses such as praise.

• Do not assume that all women of color or women from other groups necessarily have special needs or require special attention. Do not assume that minorities are the only ones who are disadvantaged or that all minorities are.[47]

• Do not call on women, including women of color, for the "woman's point of view" or the "Black woman's point of view," as if women had no individual points of view. We do not ask white women to speak on behalf of all white women. Asking people to speak on behalf of a single defining aspect of their identity—their gender, race, ethnicity, age, or sexual orientation—also suggests that it is their responsibility to do all the work of educating, when in fact, we all have a responsibility to educate ourselves and others about race, ethnicity, and other minority status.

• Learn more about the unique contributions and insights a diversity of women can bring to the course material, class dynamics, and construction of knowledge.

• Encourage female students, especially female students of color, to recognize how their "marginal person" status is an asset in that it helps them see the world from a different perspective.[48]

• Take an active role in initiating relationships with minority students.[49]

• Consider your planning and class logistics for their impact on disabled students. For example, if you make a syllabus available well before the class meets, visually impaired students will have time to arrange for books to be read on tape.

• Make sure that rooms for presentations held outside the classroom and class trips are wheelchair accessible.

Recommendations Especially for Male Faculty

Although all the faculty recommendations apply to both men and women, there are some steps men can take which will have a powerful impact on their students, precisely because the behavior is coming from a male rather than a female.

• Be a role model for male students and other male faculty members in terms of how to treat women equitably.

• In the classroom and elsewhere, talk about women's equity and the need for women and men to work together professionally. When women faculty talk about these issues, some students may be resistant. Ironically, men talking about these issues give the issue greater credibility than when women talk about it. A man talking about women's issues is not seen as "pushing his *own* agenda;" he is seen as "objective," while women are not. This is a good example of how men and women engaging in the same behavior—talking about women's equity—are perceived differently.

• Just as white persons of good will often visibly condemn racist talk when it occurs, openly express your disapproval of sexist humor, sexual jokes and innuendos, and other sexist comments when they occur in class or among colleagues in social settings and at meetings.

• Avoid calling women "dearie," "honey," or other similar names.

• If a student, male or female, criticizes a female faculty member for being strict with them, do not assume the student is correct without substantiating the information.

• Should a woman student act coquettishly, do not respond to it (other than if you want to point out that the behavior is inappropriate). Do not allow that kind of behavior to interfere with your intellectual expectations for the student.

• If a student cries when criticized, give her a tissue and go on, without lowering your standards of what is acceptable.[30]

• Treat women students as potential colleagues, not as daughters or departmental mascots.

• Do not assume that because *you* treat women fairly that others do the same.

RECOMMENDATIONS CONCERNING EVALUATION OF FACULTY

Despite the complexity of evaluation issues, there are proactive steps that institutions and individuals can take to identify and counter the possibility of gender and racial bias in the faculty evaluation process. Among the most important is the use of the several different modes of evaluation, each open to discussion and response.

Many of these recommendations stem from the work of Anne R. Statham and Susan A. Basow.[31]

Providing a Fair Setting for Evaluating Faculty Members

• Ensure that *all* members of promotion and tenure committees, as well as *all* administrators who make decisions about faculty advancement, are familiar with key research findings about the potential for gender and race bias in evaluation processes.

• Conduct workshops for promotion and tenure committee members to ensure that they are aware of how devaluation and gender and race bias can affect both their own evaluation of candidates and student ratings of faculty.

• Provide committee members with materials such as copies of research on gender and race bias and evaluation. (Search committees could also profit from similar training.)

• Offer in-service training on interactive teaching and classroom management styles to *all* faculty and teaching assistants.

• Ensure that all faculty involved in the peer review process understand that the tendency of some women faculty members to use personalized experience—their own and that of students—as a teaching tool, coupled with the tendency of some students to focus on women's personalities in assessing professional performance, may introduce extraneous factors into the evaluation process. Monitor the evaluation, tenure, and promotion system to identify and, to the extent possible, exclude such biases.

• Require that all faculty who evaluate the teaching of their colleagues in promotion decisions show evidence that they are aware of the new scholarship on women in their discipline and of effective approaches to teaching that may be more widely practiced by women. (A woman faculty member who is trying to actively engage students in the learning process may be viewed by other faculty as being disorganized or less knowledgeable.)

• Evaluate teaching by more than one method, such as

Observational peer review (with specific criteria provided)

Evaluation of teaching materials (such as syllabus, bibliographies, class goals)

Student evaluations

Teaching portfolio developed by the faculty member, including the preceding and other materials, such as a video-taped class.

• Require all faculty, tenured or not, to assemble a teaching portfolio. Such a requirement can help signal that excellence in teaching is a professional accomplishment that should be given appropriate weight in advancement decisions, much as a traditional tenure dossier emphasizes research, publications, grants received, presentations, disciplinary honors and awards, and so on.

• Ensure that research, teaching, and service conducted from a feminist and multicultural perspective are reviewed by peers who are knowledgeable about these issues. Where appropriate, include assessment by recognized experts from other institutions as well as your own.

• When weighing student evaluation questionnaires, review responses to specific questions rather than noting only the overall response.

• Recognize that women in traditionally male fields may be judged the most harshly by students and that students majoring in such fields may judge women faculty members more critically.

• Recognize that other faculty can also influence student ratings when they talk to students about other teachers. They can validate a student's perceptions about a particular teacher or they can encourage the student to rethink negative or positive perceptions. Faculty members who denigrate women's studies, women in general, feminists, or young faculty in general may be exerting a negative influence on student's perceptions and on how they evaluate faculty members. Such faculty members are not likely to be objective in their evaluation of other faculty.

• When evaluating faculty performance in graduate-level teaching, assure that out-of-class advising, mentoring, and efforts to foster professionalization are considered along with assessment of classroom teaching. It might be appropriate to examine these factors in some undergraduate institutions as well.

• Include both current students and alumni/ae in evaluation of faculty for major reviews and for tenure. (Sometimes, women and other students don't recognize the value of alternative content, pedagogical approaches, and role-modeling until they themselves are out in the workforce.)

• When conducting exit interviews with women and faculty of color, include specific discussion about the evaluation mechanisms currently in place and suggestions for improvement.

Making Student Evaluation Forms More Equitable

While it is probably impossible to construct a "perfect" student evaluation form, care should be taken to minimize gender and race bias.

• In designing questionnaires for student evaluation of faculty, recognize that student evaluations generally serve two separate functions:

> To rate the teacher for use in decisions about the teacher
>
> To provide feedback the teacher can use to change and improve the class.

While these functions may overlap, they are not identical. Different questions may be necessary for each.

A third function can include helping students become more involved in thinking about their education. Among the questions used by the School of Interdisciplinary Studies at Miami University of Ohio are the following, which precede quantitative questions:

> List the five most important characteristics of a course and of an instructor, and then rate the course on those dimensions.
>
> Write suggestions for improving the course, things that should not be changed, and suggestions for the instructor.
>
> Write for five minutes about your experience in this course in the area below, continuing on the back if you need more space. Do not stop writing but continue to put down your thoughts until the five minutes have expired.

Syracuse University uses this question:

> I feel that in this course I am learning very little, little, an adequate amount, much, very much.

Questions might also be asked about what the student might have done to improve his or her own learning in the course.

• Recognize that asking only for generic ratings such as "Is this a good teacher?" may obscure behaviors associated with good teaching. Bias is more likely to occur with general rather than specific questions. To counteract different and often unconscious standards based on gender, ask questions as specifically and objectively as possible. For example, don't ask simply, "Is the teacher available?"; inquire about the actual amount of time the teacher spent.

> How often does this teacher encourage students to speak?
>
> How often does this teacher help students think about issues?
>
> How often does this teacher present all information as a given?
>
> How often does this teacher return reports and test materials promptly?

Using vague or abstract words ("excellent" or "unsatisfactory") may lead to greater bias in ratings than words such as "almost always," "rarely," and "never," which are more precise. If you use words such as "excellent" and "unsatisfactory," follow up with a question asking for examples, and with more specific questions about particular teaching behaviors.

• When evaluating specific faculty behaviors, be sure to include items that reflect a range of effective classroom strategies, including those more likely to be used by women, such as collaborative learning and relating classroom materials to students' lives. Asking if the teacher makes the information relevant to students' lives is a good question.

• Ensure that the student evaluation form is flexible enough to reflect differences in pedagogical goals and strategies, such as large lectures in contrast to small seminars; courses whose primary purpose is to disseminate information in contrast to courses whose primary purpose is to foster analysis and interpretation; and courses in which tests are the primary means of grading in contrast to those emphasizing student writing and classroom participation.

• Ask students to assess the climate created by the teacher in terms of participation by students of different genders and races. Ask how the faculty member responded to issues and problems involving women and people of color.

• Periodically monitor and examine student ratings for gender and bias within particular classrooms, ranks, and disciplines. Compile data by analyzing gender and race of students *and* faculty members. Include questions to identify the school or division affiliation of the student rater and whether the class is an elective or required. (Junior faculty, where women and persons of color tend to be clustered, teach a disproportionate number of required courses, which often receive lower ratings than electives.)

Improving Your Own Evaluation: Recommendations for Faculty Members

• Incorporate into your syllabi and your tenure file a straightforward statement about your own pedagogy and what you hope to accomplish—what teaching techniques and classroom management strategies you will use, and what learner outcomes you seek to foster. This will help students and faculty evaluators understand your goals and activities and provide a background for student evaluation.

• Consider developing a teaching portfolio to document your own instructional development and classroom successes.

• Consider placing in your own tenure file an article that summarizes the issues surrounding gender and faculty evaluation (either in postsecondary education generally or in your own discipline) if your institution's portfolio guidelines allow you to offer such evidence. Weigh carefully the appropriateness of doing so within the particular institutional context. One excellent general resource is *Seeing and Evaluating People*, listed in the Resource section.)

WHAT STUDENTS CAN DO ABOUT THE CHILLY CLIMATE

Students can also have an impact on the classroom climate. They can do many things, either individually or as a group, acting directly or indirectly. It is also appropriate for students or for student organizations to press for adoption of some of the recommendations in this report directed to administrators and to faculty.

Remember that you pay tuition and are entitled to have a classroom that is free of discriminatory behavior. There are a number of different ways to deal with the situation. If one doesn't work, try another one.

• If a professor is not treating you or the class fairly or otherwise creates a chilly climate, consider the following options:

First of all, keep a class diary, describing (with dates) the incidents you feel are making the classroom inhospitable or unfair, ways in which you feel uncomfortable or otherwise treated differently.

Talk to other students to see if their perceptions are similar to yours. If they are, you might want to work together, by meeting with the professor or writing a group letter.

In some instances, where a professor has been ignoring you in class, a simple request in writing or in conversation can often solve the problem, especially if the faculty member is not overtly hostile to women in the class.

A letter to the professor can follow the format often used in letters to sexual harassers.[52]

The first part of the letter simply describes, in a *factual* manner, the behavior you are concerned about, with *no evaluative words*: "Although I have raised my hands many times, you rarely call on me. Sometimes you call on other students more than once without calling on me."

The second part of the letter describes what the writer feels about the behavior described: "I'm upset when you call on other people without calling on me," "I find myself not paying attention as much as I do in other classes," "I'm thinking of dropping this course."

The third part is short, and tells what the writer *wants to happen next*: "I would like you to call on me more often when I raise my hand."

Send the letter to the faculty member and keep a copy for your records, should there need to be any additional action. Do *not* send a copy of the letter to anyone else; the letter works best if it is a private communication, so that the faculty member can read the letter several times, and does not have to defend himself or herself to someone else.

Often the faculty members say nothing but change their behavior. In some instances, they may want to apologize or defend their behavior. If you find that uncomfortable, you can say, "I really don't want to discuss it," repeat what it is you want to have happen, and walk away.

• Talk to the professor directly. If the behavior involves inequities toward more than one person, it is sometimes easier if several students speak as a group to the professor. Plan what you want to talk about carefully (and if a group, who will say what and in what order), how you will describe the inequities, and what specific changes you are seeking (such as calling on women when they raise their hands or no longer telling jokes about women). Afterward, write up a description of what happened, what was said, and the professor's response. This is useful should the behavior not change and additional steps need to be taken.

One group of students who were angry about a professor's sexual remarks in class invited him out to dinner and arranged beforehand to have a booth for the group. They made sure that the professor was seated next to the wall where he could not leave until the students were ready to allow him to do so after they had discussed their complaints with him.

• Have a campus women's group send materials on gender equity in the classroom (such as this report) with a letter explaining how the professor might be inadvertently creating a chilly classroom climate and that the report might be helpful in making the classroom a better learning experience.

• Bring your complaint to the department chair or dean.

• Read the school's sexual harassment policy. Even if the policy does not say so, a classroom which is overtly discriminatory can be considered a hostile environment—a form of sexual harassment which violates federal laws prohibiting sexual discrimination.[55]

• Use the procedures listed in the school's policies. In addition to formal charges, most schools have informal ways of dealing with harassment which might be worth exploring.

• Sometimes students might want to become involved in the general issues of a chilly classroom climate and do more than remedy their own situation.

A women's center or group or student government might consider a study, asking students to identify their experiences, as did the Women's Issues Commission of the University of Michigan Student Assembly in 1989. Disseminate the results of such a study to faculty, administrators, the board of trustees, alumni/ae, and the press.

• Work to get climate issues incorporated into student evaluations of faculty members.

• Encourage the student newspaper to do an article or series on the subject.

• Publicize chilly climate issues through student programs. At Harvard in 1990, students hung large graffiti sheets in residence houses, with the question, "Is there a gender barrier in Harvard classes?" as a forum for anonymous student expression. The sheets were later hung on the walls of a building where a conference on gender in the classroom was being held.

• In the classroom itself, students can actively help in creating a more equitable climate by:

Giving credit to comments made by women students, such as "What Susan said...."

Paying attention when female students speak in class

Describing men and women on equal terms, such as "men and women," rather than "men and girls."

Thank faculty members when they make an effort to create an equitable learning climate. For example, if a professor avoids the generic male pronouns and instead uses the terms "men and women," or "he or she," give the professor positive feedback.

PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS HAVE A ROLE, TOO.

• Where appropriate, include the chilly climate for women and people of color, in the classroom or elsewhere, as a topic for annual meetings and workshops. Mention the climate issue in any calls for papers to be presented.

• When presentations on teaching are being prepared for annual meetings and workshops, ask the presenters to take gender into account. This can be done when sessions are being organized or by sending a letter to presenters asking them to raise the question of how their findings or the issues being discussed are affected by gender: Are your findings applicable in the same manner to men and women in general? To women of color? The same question could be asked concerning race and ethnicity.

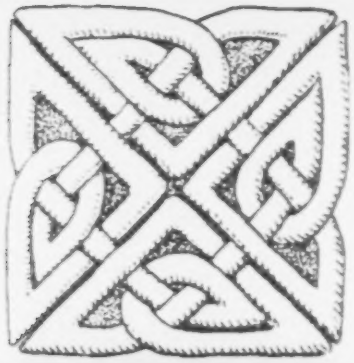
• Consider special conferences or workshops, either singly or in conjunction with an annual meeting, focusing on differential treatment of women in the classroom.

• Develop resources on the chilly climate appropriate for your membership and discipline.

• Identify subgroups within the organization that are appropriate for dealing with climate issues, such as a women's caucus or commission, a committee on teaching, or a committee on diversity.

• Offer awards for persons working in this area, such as a prize for innovative ideas dealing with the chilly classroom climate.

• Develop a bibliography of relevant materials on gender in your profession, including a list of curriculum resources.



APPENDIX I

EVALUATING YOUR COURSE FOR INCLUSION OF SCHOLARSHIP ON WOMEN*

Both faculty members and students can evaluate their courses to determine how they treat women as subjects and as contributors to knowledge. Some subjects, such as those in the humanities, lend themselves to the inclusion of women in the content of the course. Virtually every subject, however, including the "hardest" sciences, can include women as contributors. The essential question is, how does the course content deal with women? Are they anywhere in the course? If they are present, how are they treated?

EVALUATING COURSE READINGS

- Are women authors or co-authors of any of the books or readings?
- Are women cited as references in the materials?
- If there are photos and illustrations,

  Are women and men equally represented?

  Are women shown in positions of power or action (such as a female scientist or female athlete) or primarily in stereotyped roles (such as mother, teacher, and secretary)?

  Are men shown primarily in positions of authority? Are they seen in family roles, such as doing housework or taking care of children?

  Are all the women white women?
- Is the language non-sexist; does it use "he or she" and not "he" or "men" to represent both men and women?
- Are women listed as a subject in the index? Are diverse groups of women included as subjects?
- Are there separate sections on women in the reading materials? If so, how would you characterize them?

  The only women depicted are treated as exceptional women.

Women as a group are seen as problems or anomalies.

Women and men are treated separately and not compared.

Women and men are described both separately and comparatively, so that interrelationships are stressed.

- If there are no separate chapters or articles specifically devoted to women, how would you characterize the materials?

  The readings contain nothing about women, even though it would be possible and appropriate to do so.

  A gender component could not have been added to the readings of this course.

  Women are incorporated throughout the materials, including diverse groups of women.

EVALUATING COURSE CONTENT

- Does the course content include any of the following?

  Traditional roles of women in one or more societies

  Contributions of outstanding women

  Descriptions by women of their own lives

  Ways in which women's lives relate to the social, economic, and political systems of a given society

  Differences between white women and women of color, including differences among various groups of women of color

- Are women integrated throughout the syllabus?
- Is there a separate section devoted solely to women?
- Does the section about women fit into the logical order of the course or is it tacked on at the end of the syllabus?
- Is the time allotted for gender-related topics actually used? Does the course actually cover the gender section?
- What do students, male and female, learn from this course about women? Do they learn about the role of women's lives or how being a woman or a man affects their lives?

  How does the course increase their understanding of the ways women's lives relate to the social, economic, and political systems of their society?

  How does the course add to their understanding of the relationship between the roles of women and men?

  How does their understanding the significance of women's contributions to society increase as a result of the course?

  What do they learn about women's roles in society in this course?

  What do they learn about the history of women's participation in this field and the current status of women working in this field?

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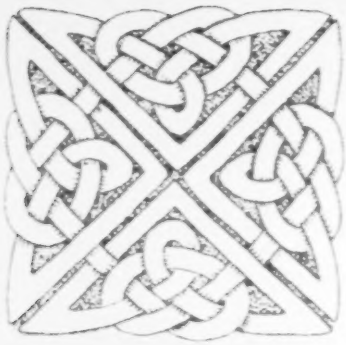
* Almost all of these questions are based on items used in a questionnaire originally developed by the Women's Studies Program at Duke University, directed by Jean O'Barr. A longer version appears in *Evaluating Courses for Inclusion of New Scholarship on Women* (Washington, DC: Project on the Status and Education of Women, Association of American Colleges, 1988). The original questionnaire also asked about classroom interaction.



APPENDIX II

QUESTIONS FOR FACULTY MEMBERS: EXAMINING YOUR OWN CLASS FOR INADVERTENT BIAS

Faculty members are frequently concerned about whether they inadvertently are creating a chilly climate for women and other groups of students. Often the general impression of equal participation of men and women in one's own classes is not accurate. Here are some ways faculty members can examine and monitor their own classroom behavior in terms of many of the behaviors described in this report:

- Keep track of participation data yourself.
- Have your class videotaped so you can examine your own behavior in the classroom. Some schools provide this service. If videotaping is not possible, record some classes on audio tape. Often our perceptions do not match what is captured by the camera or tape recorder.
- Have a colleague observe specific aspects of your behavior, such as interruptions, calling on students directly, and giving praise and feedback, and observe student behavior as well.
- Engage in reciprocal professional class observation: be sure to ask the person being observed what he or she would like you to focus on and provide feedback about.
- Ask one or two class members to track participation by men and women, as well as aspects of your own behavior, for a short period of time. Where appropriate, share the data with the class as a focus for discussion.
- Administer a survey to your classes to determine whether men and women perceive any sex-based differences in classroom interaction and whether men and women find the climate of your classroom equally hospitable. Caveat: Simply asking students if they feel they are treated fairly often yields agreement that the classroom is fair, because most students do not recognize subtle inequities. A more useful strategy is to ask open-ended questions, such as, "What is it like to be a woman in this class?" and/or to give students a list of behaviors (such as those listed in this report), ask them to observe for several class sessions, and then have them fill out the questionnaire.

- List the names of the students in your class. Do you know the names of male and female students in proportion to their enrollment in the class?
- Which students have you recently recommended for prizes, summer jobs, internships, fellowships, and the like? Are men and women equally represented?

QUESTIONS TO ASK YOURSELF:

- With whom do I interact most? Who gets most of my time and attention?
- Whom do I look at the most?
- Do I address as many questions, responses, or observations to women as to men?
- Do I listen carefully when all students speak or am I busy with other things?
- Do I ask men the hard questions and women the easy ones?
- Do I give women as much informal feedback and praise about their responses in class and their written work as I do men?
- Am I more likely to choose men as student assistants? Am I more likely to tell male students about professional opportunities such as attending conferences and conducting research?
- When I advise students, do I discourage women enrolling in predominantly male fields or the "harder" subspecialities?
- Do I frame issues such as parenting only as "women's issues?"
- Do I make fun of women's issues such as equal pay or domestic violence?
- Do I interrupt women students more often than men?
- Do I call on men more often?
- Do I use sexual humor or analogies?
- Do I use the First Amendment to justify my own or others' demeaning remarks to women?
- Do I ridicule or demean work by women authors or research about women?
- Do I intervene when students engage in behaviors that demean women, interrupt them, or otherwise diminish their participation in class?
- Do I praise women for their appearance and men for their work?
- Do I take women students as seriously as I take men?

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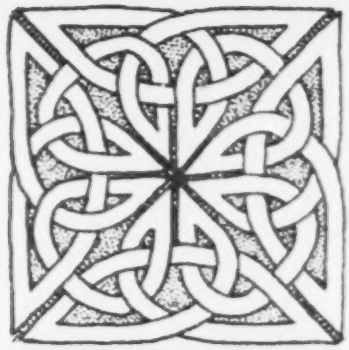

ENDNOTES

INTRODUCTION

1 Cheris Kramarae and Paula A. Treichler, "Power Relationships in the Classroom," in *Gender in the Classroom*, eds. Susan L. Gabriel and Isaiah Smithson (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 41.

2 Kramarae and Treichler, "Power Relationships in the Classroom," 41.

3 James Wilkinson and Helen Ansell, "Introduction," *On Teaching and Learning* (Harvard University) 4, 1992, 4.

4 Roberta M. Hall and Bernice R. Sandler, *The Classroom Climate: A Chilly One for Women?* (Washington, DC: Project on the Status and Education of Women, Association of American Colleges, 1982).

5 Johnnella E. Butler, "Transforming the Curriculum: Teaching About Women of Color," in James A. Banks and Cherry A. McGee, eds. *Multicultural Education: Issues and Perspectives* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1989), 147.

6 Catherine G. Krupnick, "Women and Men in the Classroom: Inequality and Its Remedies," *On Teaching and Learning* (Harvard University) 1, 1985, 19-25.

7 See, for example, M.A. Paludi and L.A. Strayer, "What's in an Author's Name? Differential Evaluations of Performance as a Function of Author's Name," *Sex Roles* 12 (3/4), 1985, 353; and F. Geis, M. Carter, and D. Butler, *Seeing and Evaluating People* (Newark: Office of Women's Affairs, University of Delaware, 1986).

8 See, for example, K. S. Adams, "Who Has the Final Word? Sex, Race and Dominant Behavior," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 38, 1980, 1-8.

9 Patricia Cross, "Teaching to Improve Learning," *Journal on Excellence in College Teaching* 1, 1990, 10.

10 See, for example, James H. Cones III, Denise Janha, and John F. Noonan, "Exploring Racial Assumptions with Faculty," in *Teaching Minority Students*, James H. Cones III, John F. Noonan, and Denise Janha, eds. New Directions for Teaching and Learning, No. 16 (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1983), 73-79.

11 Susan S. Klein, Patricia E. Ortman, et al., "Continuing the Journey Toward Gender Equity," *Educational Researcher*, November 1994, 13-21.

12 Linda Briskin, *Feminist Pedagogy: Teaching and Learning Liberation* (Ottawa: Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women, 1990).

13 Anna Bowman, Goshen College.

14 Jack F. Heller, C. Richard Puff, and Carol J. Mills, "Assessment of the Chilly Climate for Women," *Journal of Higher Education* 56(4), 1985, 446-461.

15 See Anne Constantinople, Randolph Cornelius, and Janet Gray, "The Chilly Climate: Fact or Artifact?" *Journal of Higher Education* 59(5), 1988, 527-550; Randolph R. Cornelius, Janet M. Gray, and Anne P. Constantinople, "Student-Faculty Interaction in the College Classroom," *Journal of Research and Development in Education* 23(4), 1990, 189-197; and Heller et al. "Assessment of the Chilly Climate."

16 Cornelius et al., "Student-Faculty Interaction," 198.

17 Constantinople et al., " The Chilly Climate," 549-550.

18 See Heller et al., "Assessment of the Chilly Climate." In this follow-up study in response to the climate paper, these authors have several methodological problems themselves. Their study included a nonrandom sample of volunteers at a single institution—a highly selective liberal arts college which even the authors suggest may have provided an unrepresentative sample of the female population at other institutions. In surveying students, they also relied solely on student awareness and recognition of a chilly climate. While it is important to give validity to students' voices regarding their own experiences, it is also likely that students are not always aware of subtle differences which may cumulatively shape their educational experience. In addition, the sample included students from psychology, economics, and classics; while economics has traditionally been a male-dominated domain, no students from the physical and natural sciences were selected, even though these are fields where the chilly climate is typically most prevalent.

19 Heller et al., "Assessment of the Chilly Climate," 460.

PART ONE

1 Stephanie M. Wildman, "The Question of Silence: Techniques to Ensure Full Class Participation," *Journal of Legal Education* 38 (1 & 2), 1988, 147.

2 Wildman, "The Question of Silence," 148.

3 Kramarae and Treichler, "Power Relationships in the Classroom," 54.

4 See, for example, David W. Johnson, Roger T. Johnson, and Karl A. Smith, *Cooperative Learning: Increasing College Faculty Instructional Productivity*, ASHE-ERIC Higher Education Report No. 4 (Washington, DC: Clearinghouse on Higher Education, George Washington University, 1991).

5 In one study of five law schools, women were less likely to participate than men. Seventy percent of second-year and third-year women, compared to 40 percent of the men, said they seldom or never volunteered in class. See Tanya Lovell Banks, "Gender Bias in the Classroom," *Journal of Legal Education* 38 (1 & 2), 137-146.

6 Mary Crawford, "Classroom Climate Study at West Chester University [PA]," *Women's Center Review* 8(2), 1986, 1,3.

7 Study by Ashton Trice, psychology professor at Mary Baldwin College (VA), reported in "Second Thoughts at Women's Colleges," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, February 10, 1995.

8 Catherine G. Krupnick at the Harvard Graduate School of Education was one of the first to discuss this phenomenon. See "Women and Men in the Classroom," 22. See also David Sadker and Myra Sadker, *Promoting Effectiveness in Classroom Instruction*, Final Report, No. 400-80-0033, (Washington, DC: National Institute of Education, 1984).

9 See Krupnick, previous note.

10 David Sadker and Myra Sadker, *The Intellectual Exchange: Excellence and Equity in College Teaching* (Kansas City, MO: Mid-Continent Regional Educational Laboratory, 1987) 31. The Sadkers note that the three-tiered classroom occurs even when teachers try to be interactive with their students.

11 Kramarae and Treichler, "Power Relationships," 53-54.

12 Krupnick, "Women and Men in the Classroom," 21.

13 Krupnick, "Women and Men in the Classroom," 22.

14 Deborah Tannen, "How Men and Women Use Language Differently in Their Lives and in the Classroom," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, (nd). Reprinted in Shawn Brennan and Julie Winklepleck, eds. *Resourceful Woman* (Detroit: Visible Ink Press, 1994), 199-203.

15 Frances Maher, "Classroom Pedagogy and the New Scholarship," in Margo Culley and Catherine Portuges, eds., *Gendered Subjects: The Dynamics of Feminist Teaching*, (Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1985), 43.

16 Anonymous

17 Angela Simeone, *Academic Women: Working Toward Equality* (South Hadley, MA: Bergin and Garvey, 1987). Quoted in Paula J. Caplan, *Lifting a Ton of Feathers* (Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 1.

18 We are indebted to Mary P. Rowe for her concept of micro-inequities, which she first discussed in "The Saturn's Rings Phenomenon: Micro-Inequities and Unequal Opportunity in the American Economy," in Patricia Bourne and Velma Parness, eds. *Proceedings*, National Science Foundation Conference on Women's Leadership and Authority, University of California, Santa Cruz, 1977.

19 With few exceptions, generalizations about classroom behaviors in this section not otherwise noted are discussed more fully in the 1982 report and in Sandler and Hall, *Out of the Classroom: A Chilly Campus Climate?* 1984, and *The Campus Climate Revisited: Chilly for Women Faculty, Administrators, and Graduate Students*, 1986, (Washington, DC: Project on the Status and Education of Women, Association of American Colleges).

20 Sometimes letters of reference focus on women's personal attributes: "She is a wonderful mother" rather than "She is well-organized." Similarly, in introductions: "I'd like you to meet our prettiest student" compared to "I'd like you to meet one of our brightest students."

21 See, for example, *The Status of Women at Wayne State University, 1972-1992*, President's Commission on the Status of Women, 1992. Similar campus reports from other colleges and universities confirm that these kinds of statements are still being made to students.

22 Deborah Tannen points out that many women's interruptions are more likely to consist of "cooperative overlapping"—talking at the same time as the speaker in order to show participation and support. *You Just Don't Understand: Women and Men in Conversation*, (New York: William Morrow, 1990), 298.

23 See Tannen, *You Just Don't Understand*, 215.

24 Donald H. Zimmerman and Candace West, "Sex Roles, Interruptions, and Silences in Conversation," in Barrie Thorne and Nancy Henley, eds. *Language and Sex: Difference and Dominance* (Rowley, MA: Newbury House, 1983).

25 Krupnick, "Women and Men in the Classroom," 20.

26 See Candace West and Don H. Zimmerman, "Small Insults: A Study of Interruptions in Cross-Sex Conversations Between Unacquainted Persons," in *Language, Gender and Society*, eds. Barrie Thorne, Cheris Kramarae, and Nancy Henley (Rowley, MA: Newbury House, 1983).

27 This is particularly true of women and men planning to become physicians. In most instances, questions about marital and parental status are illegal.

28 In research not linked to the classroom, F. Geis and D. Butler found that in mixed groups of men and women, both men and women were more likely to respond to women leaders with scowls and frowns, while nodding and smiling at male leaders who made the identical statements. See F. Geis, and D. Butler, "Nonverbal Affect Responses to Male and Female Leaders: Implications for Leadership Evaluations," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 58, 1990, 48-59.

29 Linda L. Carli, "Gender, Language, and Influence," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 59(5), 1990, 941-951.

30 See Hall and Sandler, *The Classroom Climate: A Chilly One for Women?*

31 Sadker and Sadker, *The Intellectual Exchange*.

32 Sadker and Sadker report that in their study of one hundred elementary classrooms, boys were more likely to be praised, corrected, helped and criticized—they received the most precise and valuable feedback. See *Failing at Fairness: How America's Schools Cheat Girls* (New York: Charles Scribners Sons, 1994), 55. Another study reported that black girls were the least likely to receive feedback from teachers. See Jacqueline Jordan Irvine, "Teacher-Student Interactions: Effects of Student Race, Sex, and Grade Level," *Journal of Educational Psychology* 78(1), 1986, 14-21.

33 Sometimes, a comment about a woman's appearance, even if in the form of a compliment, can startle her, because it is not responsive or related to the subject matter at hand.

34 C. Dweck, W. Davidson, S. Nelson, and B. Enna, "Sex Differences in Learned Helplessness: II. The Contingencies of Evaluative Feedback in the Classroom, and III. An Experimental Analysis," *Developmental Psychology* 14, 1978, 268-279, as quoted in M. Gail Jones and Jack Wheatley, "Gender Differences in Teacher-Student Interactions in Science Classrooms," *Journal of Research in Science Teaching* 27(9), 1980, 861-874.

35 Catharine Herr VanNostrand, *Gender-Responsible Leadership: Detecting Bias, Implementing Interventions* (Newbury Park: Sage, 1993), 28.

36 Dale Spender, *Man Made Language* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980), 135-36. Quoted in VanNostrand, *Gender-Responsible Leadership*, 18-19.

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37 VanNostrand points out that chauvinism can masquerade as chivalry. *Gender-Responsible Leadership*, 54-55.

38 VanNostrand calls this a "controlling detachment" and notes that it discourages equitable participation and the feeling of connectedness among group members. *Gender-Responsible Leadership*, 20-21.

39 See, for example, Brenda Major, "Gender Patterns in Touching Behavior," in *Gender and Nonverbal Behavior*, Clara Mayo and Nancy M. Henley, eds., Springer Series in Social Psychology (New York: Springer-Verlag, 1981), 15-37.

40 Sexual harassment is beyond the scope of this report. However, sexual remarks can constitute a hostile learning environment and violate federal and state laws, as well as institutional policies prohibiting sexual harassment. The most common form experienced by students is that of the hostile environment rather than the more obvious quid pro quo behavior, ("You sleep with me and you'll get an A"). The latter behavior is relatively rare, especially when compared to the hostile environment sexual harassment.

A hostile classroom environment is defined as one in which the environment is so hostile that it interferes with a person's ability to learn or participate. See Bernice R. Sandler and Robert J. Shoop, eds. *Sexual Harassment on Campus: A Guide for Administrators, Faculty, and Students* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, in press 1996).

41 The figures are drawn from a large number of studies conducted at individual colleges and universities.

42 Sometimes a sexual relationship between a faculty member and student starts off as consensual but turns into sexual harassment when the student wants to end the relationship and the faculty member attempts to intimidate the student into remaining in it. The fact that a relationship may have started as consensual is no defense to a subsequent charge of harassment.

43 Wayne C. Booth, "Beyond Knowledge and Inquiry to Love, or, Who Mentors the Mentors?" *Academe*, November-December, 1994, 33.

44 Mary Crawford, "Classroom Climate Study." In the same study, 18 percent of the women but only two percent of the men reported that their instructor's typical response to their questions or comments was a "put-down" or other discouragement.

45 When a group of students at one school complained to their department chair about this behavior, they were told they needed to be more understanding because the professor was from another culture.

46 "Eliminating Sexism in the Classroom, Oregon State University," as reported in the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, June 25, 1986.

47 To the extent that these kinds of remarks interfere with students' learning, they can also constitute hostile environment sexual harassment.

48 Much of the material on humor originally appeared in Bernice R. Sandler, *Sexual Harassment and Date Rape* (Washington, DC: Association of Governing Boards and Universities and Colleges, 1993), 5.

49 Catharine R. Stimpson, "Over-Reaching: Sexual Harassment and Education," *Initiatives* 52(3), 1989, 5.

50 This figure is based on several studies done on individual campuses. None of the studies tabulated classroom incidents separately. For further discussion of peer harassment, see Bernice R. Sandler, "Student-to-Student Harassment," in Sandler and Shoop, *Sexual Harassment on Campus*.

51 Elsa Kircher Cole, "The Intersection of Sexual Harassment and Academic Freedom." Paper given at the Association of Governing Boards of Universities and Colleges annual meeting, March 25, 1995, Seattle. See also Robert J. Shoop, "The Legal Context of Sexual Harassment on Campus," in Sandler and Shoop, *Sexual Harassment on Campus*.

52 *Anna Kadiki v. Virginia Commonwealth University*, Summary judgment, note 8, June 23, 1995. United States District Court, Eastern District of Virginia, Civil No. 3:94CV530.

53 Personal communication to one of the authors.

54 Allowing male students to create a "hostile learning environment" for women students can be considered a violation of Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, which prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex in all educational institutions receiving any federal funds. Title IX's prohibition against sex discrimination includes sexual harassment, and has been interpreted to cover a hostile environment. Thus institutions can be liable when they allow a hostile learning environment to continue in the classroom.

55 For a discussion of this issue, see, for example, Marlaine E. Lockheed with Susan S. Klein, "Sex Equity in Classroom Organization and Climate," in Susan S. Klein, ed. *Handbook for Achieving Sex Equity Through Education* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), 189-217.

56 Constantinople, et al., "The Chilly Climate," 528.

57 Michael Obsatz, "Boy Talk: How Men Avoid Sharing Themselves," Unpublished manuscript (1975), quoted in VanNostrand, *Gender Responsible Leadership*, 33.

58 Conversation with one of the authors.

59 Tannen, *You Just Don't Understand*.

60 Cheris Kramarae, "Cross-Talk on Campus: Collegiality and Hostility" *NACADA Journal* 15(1), in press 1995.

61 Senta Troemel-Ploetz, "Selling the Apolitical," *Discourse and Society* 2(4), 1991, 490.

62 See, for example, Carolyn Desjardins, "The Meaning of Gilligan's Concept of 'Different Voice' for the Learning Environment," in Carol S. Pearson, Donna L. Shavlik, and Judith G. Touchton, eds. *Educating the Majority: Women Challenging Tradition in Higher Education*, (New York: Macmillan, 1989), 134-146; Tannen, *You Just Don't Understand*, 49.

63 Tannen, *You Just Don't Understand*.

64 Robby Henes, *Creating Gender Equity in Your Teaching* (College of Engineering, University of California, Davis,1994), 8.

65 For an extensive bibliography on the subject see, "Sex Similarities and Differences in Language, Speech, and Nonverbal Communication: An Annotated Bibliography," compiled by Cheris Kramarae, Barrie Thorne, and Nancy Henley, in Thorne, Kramarae, and Henley, eds. *Language, Gender and Society*, 151-331.

66 Georgia Düerst-Lahti, "But Women Play the Game Too: Communication Control and Influence in Administrative Decision Making," *Administration & Society* 22(2), 1990, 182-205.

67 VanNostrand, *Gender Responsible Leadership*, 44-45.

68 Daniel A. Accommodate and Ruth A. Borker, "A Cultural Approach to Male-Female Miscommunication," in John Gumpers, ed. *Language and Social Identity* (NY: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 196-215.

69 See, for example, N. Newcomb and D. Arnoff, "Effects of Speech Style and Sex of Speaker on Person Perception," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 37, 1979, 1293-1303.

70 For a good summary of differences in speech, see Nancy M. Henley and Cheris Kramarae, "Gender, Power and Miscommunication," in Nikolas Coupland, Howard Giels, and John M. Wioemann, eds. *Miscommunication and Problematic Talk* (Newbury Park: Sage, 1991), 18-43. See also, Tannen, *You Just Don't Understand*.

71 Perhaps men's accusations that women often "change" their mind is based in part on men's misreading women's "uh-huhs" as agreement with them.

72 Readers can test this by simply finding a group of three or more people not of their gender but with equal status, and try to change the topic of conversation. Sometimes women even find it difficult to enter an on-going conversation of a group of men, let alone change the topic of conversation, unless something spectacular has happened to her, such as winning the Nobel prize or a lottery. In contrast, a male entering a female group is typically welcomed, and within 10 to 15 seconds he can easily change the topic to one of his liking.

73 See Nancy M. Henley, *Body Politics: Power, Sex and Nonverbal Communication* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1977).

74 Dale Spender, quoted in "Dale Spender Speaks Out on Women's Silence," *Connections* (University of California at Berkeley) 9, Spring 1985, 1, 3.

75 Bert Newborne, professor at New York Law School, quoted in the *Washington Post*, January 29, 1995.

76 Tannen, *You Just Don't Understand*.

77 Candace West, "Why Can't a Woman Be More Like a Man?" *Work and Occupations* 9, 1982, 5-29.

78 VanNostrand points out that persistent deference and accommodation and refusal to state one's own opinions or to attend to one's own needs are actually irresponsible because such behaviors allow others to make all the decisions. In its extreme form, women's accommodating behavior can be maladaptive when it turns into obsequiousness or submissiveness.

79 Newsletter of the Margaret Cunninggim Women's Center at Vanderbilt University, source not cited. Reprinted in *About Women on Campus* 3(4), 1994, 9. (Washington, DC: National Association for Women in Education)

80 See, for example, C. Cole, F. Hill, and L. Dayley, "Do Masculine Pronouns Used Generically Lead to Thoughts of Men? *Sex Roles* 9, 1983, 737-750; and A. Stericker, "Does This 'He or She' Business Really Make a Difference? The Effect of Masculine Pronouns as Generic on Job Attitudes," *Sex Roles* 7, 1981, 637-641. See also Casey Miller and Kate Swift, *Words and Women* (New York: Anchor Press, 1986).

81 Margo W. MacLeod, *A Study of Classroom Climate at Hamilton College*, [NY]. (Unpublished, 1989).

82 Adrienne Rich, "On Taking Women Students Seriously," in *On Lies, Secrets and Silence: Selected Prose 1966-1978* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1979), 243-244.

83 Henley and Kramarae, "Gender, Power, and Miscommunication," 29.

84 Frances Maher, Professor of Education, Wheaton College, MA, quoted in Zoe F. Carter, "Women on the Verge of an Education," *In View*, September/October, 1990, 11.

85 M. Lewis and R. I. Simon, "A Discourse Not Intended for Her: Learning and Teaching Within Patriarchy," *Harvard Educational Review* 56, 1986, 457-471.

86 VanNostrand, *Gender Responsible Leadership*, 49-50.

87 VanNostrand, *Gender Responsible Leadership*, 17.

88 *New York Times*, April 11, 1990.

89 See, for example, Don H. Zimmerman and Candace West, "Sex Roles, Interruptions, and Silences in Conversation," in Barrie Thorne and Nancy Henley, eds. *Language and Sex: Difference and Dominance* (Rowley, MA: Newbury House, 1975), 105-129.

90 Doug Cooper Thompson, *As Boys Become Men: Learning New Male Roles, A Curriculum for Exploring Male Role Stereotyping* (New York: Irvington, 1985), 31-32.

91 Women's Issues Commission of the Michigan Student Assembly and the Task Force on Climate Issues of the President's Advisory Committee on Women's Issues, University of Michigan, *Gender and Academic Climate at the University of Michigan: Student Voices*, 1991.

92 Related to one of the authors by the female teacher involved.

93 Rich, "On Taking Women Students Seriously," 239.

94 See, for example, Paludi and Strayer, "What's in an Author's Name?" and Geis, Carter, and Butler, *Seeing and Evaluating People*.

95 Beth Haslett, Florence L. Geis, and Mae R. Carter, *The Organizational Women: Power and Paradox* (Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing, 1992), 35.

96 Sandler and Hall, *The Campus Climate Revisited: Chilly for Women Faculty, Administrators, and Graduate Students*.

97 Hall and Sandler, *Out of the Classroom: A Chilly Campus Climate for Women?*

98 Karen Arnold, *Academic Achievement—A View from the Top: The Illinois Valedictorian Project* (Oak Brook: North Central Regional Educational Laboratory, 1993).

99 Henes, *Creating Gender Equity*, 3.

100 Internal committee report evaluating women in a graduate department at an Ivy League school.

101 Hitt and Zikmund (reference incomplete), as quoted in Michele A. Paludi, *The Psychology of Women* (Dubuque: Brown and Benchmark, 1985), 250.

102 It may also be that in addition to or instead of devaluation, "traditional" women were seen as less threatening than feminists.

103 See, for example, Lynn Weber Cannon, "Fostering Positive Race, Class and Gender Dynamics in the Classroom," *Women's Studies Quarterly* (1 & 2), 1990, 126-134.

104 See, for example, Henley, *Body Politics*.

105 Cannon, "Fostering Positive Race, Class and Gender Dynamics," 126.

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106 Linda E. U. Scott, "The Cooperative Active Learning Model: One Answer to Multicultural Gender-Fair Education in Math and Science," in Sandra Keith and Phillip Keith, eds. *Proceedings of the National Conference on Women in Mathematics and the Sciences* (St. Cloud: St. Cloud University, 1990), 170-174. Quoted in VanNostrand, *Gender Responsible Leadership*, 3.

107 Kramarae and Treichler, "Power in the Classroom," 56.

108 Generally speaking, the higher the prestige of the department or institution, the fewer the women faculty and students.

109 Internal committee report on the status of women in a department at an Ivy League school, 1988.

110 Nellie McKay, "Black Woman Professor—White University," *Women's Studies International Forum* 6(2), 1983, 144.

111 U.S. Department of Education, *Faculty and Instructional Staff: What They Are and What Do They Do?* Reported in *About Women on Campus* 4(2), 1995, 3. (Washington, DC: National Association for Women in Education).

112 Lana F. Rakow, "Gender and Race in the Classroom: Teaching Way Out of Line," *Feminist Teacher* 6(1), 1991, 10-13.

113 See Marianne A. Ferber, "Suggestions for Improving the Classroom Climate for Women in the Introductory Economics Course: A Review Article," *Journal of Economics Education*, Spring 1984, 160-168.

114 Peggy McIntosh, 1988. *White Privilege and Male Privilege: A Personal Account of Coming to See Correspondences Through Work in Women's Studies*, Working Paper No. 189 (Wellesley, MA: Center for Research on Women, Wellesley College).

115 Caplan, *Lifting a Ton of Feathers*, 19.

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118 Saufley et al., "The Struggles of Minority Students," 9.

119 Mercilee Jenkins, "Teaching the New Majority: Guidelines for Cross-Cultural Communication Between Students and Faculty," *Feminist Teacher* 5(1), 1990, 8.

120 Jenkins, "Teaching the New Majority," 9.

121 Jenkins, "Teaching the New Majority," 8, 13.

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123 Jenkins, "Teaching the New Majority," 8.

124 Related to one of the authors.

125 Laurie Crumpacker and Eleanor M. Vander Haegan, *Integrating the Curriculum: Teaching About Lesbians and Homophobia*, Working Paper No. 138. (Wellesley, MA: Center for Research on Women, Wellesley College, 1984), 3.

126 The assumption of the shorter career span for older women does not take into account the generally shorter life spans of men nor does it take into account that many people, including men, switch careers during their worklife.

127 Angela B. Ginorio, *Warming the Climate for Women in Academic Science* (Washington, DC: Association of American Colleges and Universities, 1995), 11.

128 Diane Steinle, "Duke Physics Equation Doesn't Include Women," *St. Petersburg Times*, June 5, 1995. The article describes the experiences of student Laurie Freeman.

129 See Evelyn Fox Keller, *Reflections on Gender and Science* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985). Also see Sheila Tobias, *They're Not Dumb, They're Different: Stalking the Second Tier* (Tucson: Research Corporation, 1990).

130 Julie Kuhn Ehrhart and Bernice R. Sandler, *Looking for More Than a Few Good Women in Traditionally Male Fields* (Washington, DC: Project on the Status and Education of Women, Association of American Colleges, 1987), 6.

131 Ehrhart and Sandler, *Looking for More*, 6.

132 Ginorio, *Warming the Climate*, 9.

133 Sue V. Rosser, "Reaching the Majority: Retaining Women in the Pipeline," in *Reaching the Majority: Breaking the Gender Barrier in Science, Mathematics and Engineering*, ed. Sue V. Rosser (New York: Teachers College Press, Athene Series, 1995), 6-7.

134 Elaine Seymour and Nancy M. Hewitt, *Talking About Leaving: Factors Contributing to High Attrition Rates Among Science, Mathematics and Engineering Undergraduate Majors*. Final report to the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation on an ethnographic inquiry at seven institutions. (Boulder: University of Colorado Ethnography and Assessment Research and Bureau of Sociological Research, 1994) 351.

135 See *Evaluating Courses for the Inclusion of New Scholarship on Women*.

136 See, for example, S.F. Feiner and B.B. Roberts, "Hidden by the Invisible Hand: Neoclassical Economic Theory and the Textbook Treatment of Race and Gender," *Gender and Society* 4, 1990, 159-81; M.M. Ferree and E.J. Hall, "Visual Images of American Society: Gender and Race in Introductory Sociology Textbooks," *Gender and Society* 4, 1990, 500-33; S.B. Peterson and T. Kroner, "Gender Biases in Textbooks for Introductory Psychology and Human Development," *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 16, 1992, 17-36; and M.H. Whatley, "A Feeling for Science: Female Students and Biology Texts," *Women's Studies International Forum* 12, 1989, 355-61.

PART TWO

1 Paula A. Treichler and Cheris Kramarae, "Women's Talk in the Ivory Tower," *Communication Quarterly* 31(2), 118-132.

2 Treichler and Kramarae, "Women's Talk."

3 Treichler and Kramarae, "Women's Talk."

4 Treichler and Kramarae, "Women's Talk"

5 Tannen, "How Men and Women Use Language Differently."

6 Kramarae and Treichler, "Power Relationships," 51.

7 Kramarae and Treichler, "Power Relationships," 51.

8 Jane Margolis, "Piranhas, Monsters, and Jugglers: The Psychology of Gender and Academic Discourse," in *On Teaching and Learning* (Harvard University) 4, May 1992, 8.

9 Mary F. Belenky, Blythe M. Clinchy, Nancy R. Goldberger, and Jill M. Tarule, *Women's Ways of Knowing: The Development of Self, Voice and Mind* (New York: Basic Books, 1986). See also, for example, Sandra Keith, "A Strategy for the Female Math Student in the Battle," in Hilde L. Nelson and Marian Rengel, eds. *Gender and the Curriculum: Theory and Practice, Selected Papers* (Collegeville, MN: College of Saint Benedict/Saint John's University, 1987) 87-95.

10 Alice S. Rossi, "Coeducation in a Gender-Stratified Society," in *Men and Women Together: Coeducation in a Changing World*, Carol Lasser, ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press and Oberlin College, 1987), 30.

11 Women's tendency toward silence in the classroom has been documented by numerous authors. Belenky et al., *Women's Ways of Knowing*, talk about the difficulty experienced by women in claiming their voice in situations where men predominate.

12 Men's behavior in all-male groups and in male-female groups is very similar, in terms of non-verbal and verbal behavior. Women's behavior, however, is more likely to be different when they are in all-female groups and in mixed groups. Tannen points out that although both men and women may make adjustments in their speech when they talk in mixed groups, women make more and may be at a disadvantage because they have less experience in conducting their conversation in the ways that men use. See Tannen, *You Just Don't Understand*, 237.

13 Margolis, "Piranhas, Monsters, and Jugglers," 21.

14 Kramarae and Treichler, "Power Relationships," 54.

15 Kramarae and Treichler, "Power Relationships," 55.

16 Kramarae and Treichler, "Power Relationships," 52-53.

17 Maurianne Adams, *Cultural Inclusion in the American College Classroom, New Directions in Learning*, No. 49 (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1992), 15.

18 See, for example, Frances A. Maher and Mary Kay Thompson Tetrault, *The Feminist Classroom* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), 9.

19 Margo Culley, "Anger and Authority in the Introductory Women's Studies Classroom," in Culley and Portuges, eds. *Gendered Subjects*, 209.

20 See, for example, Carmen Luke and Jennifer Gore, eds., *Feminisms and Critical Pedagogy* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 1.

21 See, for example, Susan Stanford Friedman, "Authority in the Feminist Classroom: A Contradiction in Terms," in Culley and Portuges, eds. *Gendered Subjects*; Jeanne Brady Giroux, "Feminist Theory as Pedagogical Practice," *Contemporary Education* 61(1), 1989, 6-10. See also Elizabeth Berry, *Feminist Pedagogy as a Discourse of Possibilities*, Fourteenth Annual Communication, Language, and Gender Conference, October 3-6, 1991; Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment* (New York: Routledge, 1991); and Luke and Gore, eds. *Feminisms and Critical Pedagogy*.

22 See Friedman, "Authority in the Classroom," in Culley and Portuges, eds. *Gendered Subjects*, 203-20; and Berry, *Feminist Pedagogy*.

23 Maher, "Classroom Pedagogy," in Culley and Portuges, eds. *Gendered Subjects*, 29-30.

24 Giroux, "Feminist Theory as Pedagogical Practice," 6-10.

25 Maher, "Classroom Pedagogy," in Culley and Portuges, eds. *Gendered Subjects*, 42.

26 Culley, "Anger and Authority," in Culley and Portuges, eds. *Gendered Subjects*, 209-217.

27 Giroux, "Feminist Theory as Pedagogical Practice," 6-10.

28 Friedman, "Authority in the Feminist Classroom," in Culley and Portuges, eds. *Gendered Subjects*, 203-208.

29 Berry, *Feminist Pedagogy*.

30 Carolyn M. Shrewsbury, "What is Feminist Pedagogy?" *Women's Studies Quarterly* XXI (3 & 4), 1993, 8-16; and Berry, *Feminist Pedagogy*, 2.

31 Julie Brown, "Theory or Practice—What Exactly Is Feminist Pedagogy?" *Journal of General Education* 41, 1994, 56.

32 Shrewsbury, "What is Feminist Pedagogy?" 11.

33 Nancy Jo Hoffman, "Breaking Silences: Life in the Feminist Classroom," in Culley and Portuges, eds. *Gendered Subjects*, 147-154.

34 Culley, "Anger and Authority," in Culley and Portuges, eds. *Gendered Subjects*, 15.

35 Adams, *Cultural Inclusion*, 15.

36 Friedman, "Authority in the Classroom," in Culley and Portuges, eds. *Gendered Subjects*, 208.

37 Presentation by Cannon, 1994, University of Memphis Center for Research on Women Conference, "In the Classroom and Beyond: Race, Gender, Class and Curriculum in Higher Education," June 2-4, 1994. For a further discussion of how people who are both insiders and outsiders can use the power they do have to interrupt exclusionary practices, see Becky W. Thompson and Sangeeta Tyagi, "The Politics of Inclusion: Reskilling the Academy," in Thompson and Tyagi, eds. *Beyond a Dream Deferred: Multicultural Education and the Politics of Excellence* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), 85.

38 Friedman, "Authority in the Classroom," in Culley and Portuges, eds. *Gendered Subjects*, 203-217.

39 David W. Johnson, Roger T. Johnson, and Karl A. Smith, *Cooperative Learning: Increasing College Faculty Instructional Productivity*., ASHE-ERIC Higher Education Reports (Washington, DC: The George Washington University, 1991), 38-39.

40 For a discussion of the differences between "cooperative" and "collaborative" work, see Jim Cooper and Randall Mueck, "Student Involvement in Learning: Cooperative Learning and College Instruction," *Journal on Excellence in College Teaching* 1, 1990, 68-76.

41 Belenky et al., *Women's Ways of Knowing*.

42 See, for example, Lawrence Kohlberg, *The Philosophy of Moral Development* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1981).

43 Belenky et al., *Women's Ways of Knowing*, 8.

44 Belenky et al., *Women's Ways of Knowing*, 15.

45 Belenky et al., *Women's Ways of Knowing*, 16.

46 Adams, *Cultural Inclusion*, 15.

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47 Susan Chira, "An Ohio College Says Women Learn Differently, So It Teaches That Way," *New York Times*, May 13, 1992.

48 Rosemarie Carfagna, "Creating Gender Equity in the College Classroom: An Inclusive Core Curriculum," *The College Board Review* 172, 1994, 8-28.

49 Johnson et al., *Cooperative Learning*, 3.

50 Johnson et al., *Cooperative Learning*, iii.

51 Johnson et al., *Cooperative Learning*, iv.

52 Johnson et al., *Cooperative Learning*, iv.

53 Johnson et al., *Cooperative Learning*, iii; 41-43.

54 However, those students who are not prepared for collaborative classroom experiences and who are acutely uncomfortable in such a setting may skip classes at an increased rate.

55 See also Ilona M. Eubanks, "Nonstandard Dialect Speakers and Collaborative Writing," *The Writing Instructor* 10(3), 1991, 143-148.

56 Jean Sheridan, Ann C. Byrne, and Kathryn Quina, "Collaborative Learning: Notes from the Field," *College Teaching* 37(2), 1989, 52.

57 Johnson et al., *Cooperative Learning*, 38-39.

58 Cooper and Mueck, "Student Involvement," 77.

59 For example, see Belenky et al., *Women's Ways of Knowing*.

60 Cooper and Mueck, "Student Involvement," 77.

61 Johnson et al., *Cooperative Learning*, 43-44.

62 See, for example, Catherine G. Krupnick, "Meadows College Prepares for Men," in *Gender and Public Policy, Cases and Comments*, eds. Kenneth Winston and Mary Jo Bane (Boulder: Westview Press, 1993), 137-148.

63 Cooper and Mueck, "Student Involvement," 75.

64 Lisa Ede, *The Case for Collaboration*. Paper presented at the 38th annual meeting of the Conference on College Composition and Communication, Atlanta, March 19-21, 1987, 1.

65 Ede, *The Case for Collaboration*, 9.

66 Johnson et al., *Cooperative Learning*, 81.

67 Johnson et al., *Cooperative Learning*, 16.

68 Johnson et al., *Cooperative Learning*, 16.

69 Johnson et al., *Cooperative Learning*, 16.

70 Johnson et al., *Cooperative Learning*, 62

71 In fact, while Johnson et al. and others note the importance of teaching social skills, we found few concrete examples of which skills to teach and how to teach them.

72 Johnson et al., *Cooperative Learning*, 23.

73 Johnson et al., *Cooperative Learning*, 24.

74 Johnson et al., *Cooperative Learning*, 65.

75 Johnson et al., *Cooperative Learning*, 67.

76 See, for example, Sheridan et al., "Collaborative Learning." For support of cooperative learning in the sciences and for success and retention rates of model programs, see also Joe Alpers, "The Pipeline is Leaking Women All the Way Along," *Science* 260, 1993, 410-411.

77 Elizabeth A. Flynn, Gerald Savage, Marsha Penti, Carol Brown, and Sarah Watke, "Gender and Modes of Collaboration in a Chemical Engineering Design Course," *Journal of Business and Technical Communications* 5(4), 1991, 454.

78 Flynn et al., "Gender and Modes of Collaboration," 448.

79 Conversation with Catherine G. Krupnick. She also notes that lectures, especially when well done, can be inspiring and challenging.

80 On a similar note, John Trimbur, "Consensus and Difference in Collaborative Learning," *College English*, 51(6), 1989, 602-616, notes that some critics of collaborative learning suggest that group work that has consensus as a goal may suppress difference, enforce conformity, and set students up for peer indoctrination. Again, faculty need to be aware that cooperatively structured groups do not innately escape the power dynamics of other group settings; we must structure and monitor groups with the intent of making sure that hierarchical patterns are not simply recreated in smaller groups.

81 Discussion on WMST-L, an electronic forum for women's studies, October 1993.

82 Cooper and Mueck, "Student Involvement," 81.

83 See Friedman, "Authority in the Classroom," in Culley and Portuges, eds., *Gendered Subjects*, 203-217; and Berry, *Feminist Pedagogy*.

84 Berry, *Feminist Pedagogy*, 2-3.

85 See Shrewsbury, "What is Feminist Pedagogy?" and Becky Thompson and Estelle Disch, "Feminist, Anti-Racist, Anti-Oppression Teaching: Two White Women's Experience," *Radical Teacher* 41, 4-10.

86 For a discussion of feminist assessment, see Musil, *Students at the Center: Feminist Assessment*.

PART THREE

1 Rich, "On Taking Women Students Seriously," in Culley and Portuges, eds. *Gendered Subjects*, 21-28.

2 These comments are responses to a questionnaire developed by the Women's Studies Program at Duke University. See *Evaluating Courses for Inclusion of New Scholarship on Women* (Washington, DC: Project on the Status and Education of Women, Association of American Colleges, 1988).

3 Student quoted in Wimmin's Supplement to *Lexicon*, York University [Canada], March 6, 1991, 8.

4 Florence Howe, *Myths of Coeducation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), 256.

5 Margaret Anderson, "Changing the Curriculum in Higher Education," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 12(2),1987, 224. Anderson draws heavily on Betty Schmitz's work, listed in the Resources section.

6 Committee W on the Status of Women in the Academic Profession, "Valuing and Devaluing Women's Studies," *Academe*, July-August 1989, 35-39.

7 Caryn McTighe Musil, ed., *The Courage to Question: Women's Studies and Student Learning* (Washington, DC: Association of American Colleges), 2.

8 Committee W, 35.

9 See Dorothy Smith, *Everyday World as Problematic: A Feminist Sociology* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1987).

10 Barbara F. Luebke and Mary Ellen Reilly, *Women's Studies Graduates* (New York: Teachers College Press, Athene Series, 1995).

11 Anderson, "Changing the Curriculum," 253.

12 Musil, *The Courage to Question*.

13 Mary Jo Neitz, Director, Women's Studies, University of Missouri, Columbia, as quoted in *On Campus With Women*, Spring 1992, 4, (Washington, DC: Association of American Colleges).

14 Some scholars are concerned that women's studies is "mainstreaming" too quickly and that disciplinary inclusion of feminist scholarship will spell the demise of autonomous women's studies courses and departments. For a more thorough analysis, as well as a discussion of the devaluation of women's studies scholars and scholarship, see Committee W, "Valuing and Devaluing Women's Studies."

15 Catharine R. Stimpson, "Setting Agendas, Defining Challenges," *Women's Review of Books* 6(5), 1989.

16 Joy James, "Reflections on Teaching: 'Gender, Race, and Class' " *Feminist Teacher* 5(3), 1991, 9.

17 Anderson, "Changing the Curriculum," 236. Anderson also presents the analysis of Mary Kay Tetrault who defines phases of feminist scholarship as male scholarship, compensatory scholarship, bifocal scholarship, feminist scholarship and multifocal or relational scholarship. In a further exploration of the implications of curriculum transformation, Frances Maher and Kathleen Dunn analyze how phases of curriculum change are related to pedagogy and the cognitive development of female students in *The Practice of Feminist Teaching: A Case Study of Interactions Among Curriculum, Pedagogy, and Female Development*, Working Paper No. 144 (Wellesley, MA: Center for Research on Women, Wellesley College, 1984).

18 Peggy McIntosh, *Interactive Phases of Curricular Re-vision: A Feminist Perspective*, Working Paper 124 (Wellesley, MA: Center for Research on Women, Wellesley College, 1983).

19 Peggy McIntosh of the Center for Research on Women at Wellesley College developed this metaphor.

20 Anderson, "Changing the Curriculum," 240.

21 See also, *Evaluating Courses for Inclusion of New Scholarship on Women*.

22 Susan Hardy Aiken, Karen Anderson, Myra Dinnerstein, Judy Lesink, and Patricia Maccorquodale, "Trying Transformation: Curriculum Integration and the Problem of Resistance," *Signs: Journal of Women in Society* 12(2), 1987, 260.

23 Thompson and Tyagi, "Introduction—A Wider Landscape...Without the Mandate for Conquest," in Thompson and Tyagi, eds., *Beyond a Dream Deferred*, xii-xiv.

24 Anderson, "Changing the Curriculum," 254.

25 See for example, Thompson and Disch, "Feminist, Anti-racist, Anti-oppression Teaching."

26 Elizabeth Higginbotham, "Designing an Inclusive Curriculum...Bringing All Women in the Core," in Glazer, Bensimon, and Townsend, *Women in Higher Education*, 555.

27 Esther Ngan-Ling Chow, "Teaching Sex and Gender in Sociology: Incorporating the Perspective of Women of Color," *Teaching Sociology* 12(3), 1985, 300.

28 Chow, "Teaching Sex and Gender," 299-311.

29 Chow, "Teaching Sex and Gender," 303-304.

30 Chow, "Teaching Sex and Gender," 303-304.

31 Language itself can play a key role in how these projects unfold. While Chow labels the "mainstreaming" approach as a goal, others discuss problems of words such as "mainstream" and "integration," which imply that there is a single mainstream. Such semantics suggest that the *addition* of women to a mainstream denies the necessity for reconstruction (See Anderson, "Changing the Curriculum," 228, and Johnnella E. Butler, "Transforming the Curriculum: Teaching About Women of Color," in James A. Banks and Cherry A. McGee, eds. *Multicultural Education: Issues and Perspectives* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1989), 145-163.

32 Smith, *Everyday World as Problematic*.

33 Chow, "Teaching Sex and Gender," 305.

34 Butler, "Transforming the Curriculum," in Banks and McGee, eds. *Multicultural Education*, 160.

35 Howe, *Myths of Coeducation*, 282-283.

36 Thompson and Tyagi, "Politics of Inclusion," in Thompson and Tyagi, eds. *Beyond a Dream Deferred*, 85.

37 Thompson and Tyagi, "Politics of Inclusion," in Thompson and Tyagi, eds. *Beyond a Dream Deferred*, 83-99.

38 See, for example, Allan Bloom, *The Closing of the American Mind* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987); Dinesh D'Souza *Illiberal Education: The Politics of Race and Sex on Campus* (New York: Free Press, 1991); E.D. Hirsch, Jr., *Cultural Literacy: What Every American Needs to Know* (New York: Vintage Books, 1988); and Roger Kimball, *Tenured Radicals: How Politics Has Corrupted Our Higher Education* (New York: Harper and Row, 1990).

39 Anderson, "Changing the Curriculum," 233. See also Evelyn Hu-DeHart, "Rethinking America: The Practice and Politics of Multiculturalism in Higher Education," in Thompson and Tyagi, eds. *Beyond a Dream Deferred*, 3-17, and Adams, *Cultural Inclusion*, 5-15.

40 Aiken et al., "Trying Transformation," 272.

41 Paula Rothenberg, "Integrating the Study of Race, Gender, and Class: Some Preliminary Observations," *Feminist Teacher* 3(3), 37-43, 1988, 42.

42 Rothenberg, "Integrating the Study of Race," 42.

43 Several participants at the 1994 University of Memphis Center for Research on Women Conference, "In the Classroom and Beyond: Race, Gender, Class and the Curriculum in Higher Education," reported the same and similar epithets. See also Aiken et al., "Trying Transformation."

44 These ground rules appear in Lynn Weber Cannon, "Fostering Positive Race, Class, and Gender Dynamics in the Classroom," *Women's Studies Quarterly*, (1 & 2), 1990, 126-134.

45 Reported to one of the authors.

46 Peggy McIntosh has described this process in many of her speeches.

47 For more on how classrooms can become explosive, but potentially transformative, arenas of dialogue, see Culley and Portuges, eds. *Gendered Subjects*, and Musil, *The Courage to Question*.

48 Cannon, "Fostering Positive Race."

49 The first time teachers teach about women and other groups is usually the hardest.

50 Rothenberg, "Integrating the Study of Race," 38. See also Beverly Daniel Tatum, "Talking about Race, Learning about Racism: The Application of Racial Identity Development Theory in the Classroom," *Harvard Educational Review* 62(1), 1992, 1-24, for a framework for understanding students' psychological responses to race-related content and the student resistance that can result, as well as some strategies for overcoming the resistance.

51 Georgia Rhoades, "Dealing with Racism in the Classroom," *Feminist Teacher*, 6(1), 1991, 34.

52 Rakow, "Gender and Race in the Classroom," 12.

53 Rothenberg, "Integrating the Study of Race," 38.

54 Tatum, "Talking About Race," 2.

55 Rothenberg, "Integrating the Study of Race," 41. See also Butler, "Transforming the Curriculum," in Banks and McGee, eds. *Multicultural Education*, 145-163.

56 Rothenberg, "Integrating the Study of Race," 41.

PART FOUR

1 Example given by participant at "Forum on Women in Legal Education," conference sponsored by the New York State Bar Association, Fordham University Law School, New York, November 4, 1989.

2 Alexander W. Astin, *What Matters in College?* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Higher and Adult Education Series, 1993), 348-9.

3 Astin, *What Matters in College?* 195.

4 Anne Statham, Laurel Richardson, and Judith A. Cook, *Gender and University Teaching: A Negotiated Difference* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991).

5 See, for example, Peter Seldin, *Changing Practices in Faculty Evaluation: A Critical Assessment and Recommendations for Improvement* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Higher Education Series, 1984), 52; and Ernest Boyer, *Scholarship Reconsidered* (Princeton: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1990), 53-64.

6 Statham et al., *Gender and University Teaching*, 112.

7 Statham et al., *Gender and University Teaching*, 107.

8 See Hall and Sandler (1982) and Sandler and Hall (1986).

9 Susan A. Basow, "Student Evaluations of College Professors: When Gender Matters," *Journal of Educational Psychology* 87(4), 1995, 656-665.

10 Kenneth A. Feldman, "College Students' Views of Male and Female College Teachers: Part I. Evidence from the Social Laboratory and Experiments," *Research in Higher Education* 33(3), 1992, 317. Feldman provides a meta-analysis of laboratory and experimental research

11 Kenneth A. Feldman, "College Students' Views of Male and Female College Teachers: Part II. Evidence from Students' Evaluations of their Classroom Teachers," *Research in Higher Education* 34(2), 1993, 177. Feldman provides a meta-analysis of classroom research.

12 Basow, " Student Evaluations."

13 Basow, "Student Evaluations."

14 See, for example, P.M. Fandt and G.E. Stevens, "Evaluation Bias in the Business Classroom: Evidence Relating to the Effects of Prior Experiences," *Journal of Psychology*, July 1991, 469-477.

15 See A.H. Eagly, M.G Makhijani, and B.G. Klonsky, "Gender and the Evaluation of Leaders: A Meta-analysis," *Psychological Bulletin* 111, 1992, 3-22; and J. Swim, E. Borgida, G. Maruyama, and D.G. Myers, "Joan McKay versus John McKay: Do Gender Stereotypes Bias Evaluations?" *Psychological Bulletin* 105, 1989, 409-429.

16 Personal communications to Sandler. For a description of hostility by male students aimed at female faculty, see Bernice R. Sandler, *Women Faculty at Work in the Classroom, or, Why It Still Hurts to Be a Woman in Labor*. (Washington, DC: Center for Women Policy Studies, 1993), 5-8.

17 Statham et al., *Gender and University Teaching*, 110-11.

18 Basow, "Student Evaluations."

19 See, for example, Feldman, "College Students, Part I" and Statham, *Gender and University Teaching*.

20 D. Kierstead, P. D'Agostin, and H. Dill, "Sex Role Stereotyping of College Professors: Bias in Students' Rating of Instructors," *Journal of Educational Psychology* 80(3), 1988, 342-344; and J.A. Hall, K.G. Braunwald, B.J. Mroz, "Gender, Affect and Influence in a Teaching Situation," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 3(2), 1982, 270-280.

21 Basow, "Student Evaluations."

22 Kierstead et al., "Sex Role Stereotyping."

23 S.K. Bennett, "Student Perceptions and Expectations for Male and Female Instructors: Evidence Relating to the Question of Gender Bias in Teaching Evaluation," *Journal of Educational Psychology* 74(2), 1982, 170-179.

24 For an early discussion of this issue, see Shelia Kishler Bennett, "Undergraduates and Their Teachers: An Analysis of Student Evaluations of Male and Female Instructors," in P. Perun, ed. *The Undergraduate Woman: Issues in Educational Equity* (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1982), 251-273. See also Basow, "Student Evaluations."

25 Sandler, *Women at Work in the Classroom*, 2.

26 C. Backhouse, R. Harris, G. Michell, and A. Wylie, *The Chilly Climate for Faculty Women at UWO: Postscript to the Backhouse Report* (London, Ontario, Canada: University of Western Ontario, 1989).

27 Backhouse et al., *The Chilly Climate for Faculty Women*.

28 Moses, "Black Women in Academe," 19.

29 Sandler, *Women at Work*, 6. See also E. Grauerholz "Sexual Harassment of Women Professors by Students: Exploring the Dynamics of Power, Authority, and Gender in a University Setting," *Sex Roles*, 21 (11/12), 1984, 789-801.

30 This statement has been part of the annual study of first-year students conducted by the Higher Education Research Institute at the University of California at Los Angeles. Over 30 percent of male students and 20 percent of women students agreed with the statement in 1994. These percentages have remained fairly consistent over time. The data appear in *The American Freshman: National Norms for Fall 1994*, UCLA Graduate School of Education and Information Services.

31 Feldman, "College Students's Views, Part II," 347.

32 Comments from women faculty from an unpublished survey of a small midwestern liberal arts college.

33 B. Hartung, "Selective Rejection: How Students Perceive Women's Studies Teachers," *National Women's Studies Association Journal* 2, 1990, 373-379.

34 See, for example, E. Martin, "Power and Authority in the Classroom: Sexist Stereotypes in Teaching Evaluations," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 9, 1984, 483-482.

35 Kierstad et al., " Sex Role Stereotyping."

36 Statham, et al., *Gender and University Teaching*.

37 Statham et al., *Gender and University Teaching*, 155.

38 Told to one of the authors by the faculty member.

39 Seldin, *Changing Practices*, 46.

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40 See Geis, Carter, and Butler, *Seeing and Evaluating People*. See also Sandler, *Women Faculty at Work in the Classroom*.

41 Responses to an informal questionnaire, cited in Moses, "Black Women in Academe."

42 Denise K. Magner, "Report on Standards for Assessing What Professors Do," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, February 9, 1994, A-22.

PART FIVE

1 Hall and Sandler, *The Classroom Climate*.

2 Some of these recommendations appear in the series of climate papers written by Sandler and Hall and published by the Association of American Colleges.

3 See, for example, Bernice R. Sandler, Jean O'Gorman Hughes, and Mary DeMouy, *It's All in What You Ask: Questions for Search Committees to Use* (Washington, DC: Center for Women Policy Studies, 1988).

4 The idea for the Stopit program emerged from a collaboration among Mary P. Rowe, special assistant to the president, and a group of information systems managers led by Gregory A. Jackson, director of academic computing; Daniel M. Weir, director of computing support services; and Cecelia R. D'Olivera, director of distributed computing network services. Jackson describes the Stopit program in "Promoting Civility on the Academic Network: Crime and Punishment, or the Golden Rule?" *Educational Record* 75(3), Summer 1994.

5 Rosser, *Teaching the Majority*, 11. Rosser notes that de-emphasizing weeding out and emphasizing foundation-building has led to increased retention in particular schools who have done this in chemistry, mathematics, engineering, and physics.

6 Kramarae, "Cross-Talk on Campus: Collegiality and Hostility."

7 See Bernice R. Sandler and Ellen Hoffman, *Teaching Faculty Members to Be Better Teachers: A Guide to Equitable and Effective Classroom Techniques* (Washington, DC: Association of American Colleges, 1992).

8 Sandler, Hughes and DeMouy, *It's All in What You Ask*.

9 Stephanie Riger, Carrie Becke, and Eve Wiederhold, "Dynamics of the Pluralistic Classroom: A Selected Bibliography," *NWSA Journal* 7(2), 1995, 59.

10 *Gender and Academic Climate at the University of Michigan: Student Voices*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1991).

11 Henes, *Creating Gender Equity*.

12 Higginbotham, "Designing an Inclusive Curriculum," in Glazer et al., eds. *Women in Higher Education*, 555.

13 Aiken et al., "Trying Transformation," 273.

14 Higginbotham, "Designing an Inclusive Curriculum," in Glazer et al., eds. *Women in Higher Education*, 562.

15 A program like this was held as part of a process of establishing a diversity requirement at the University of Massachusetts in Boston.

16 Krupnick does this.

17 Krupnick does this.

18 Krupnick does this.

19 *About Women on Campus* 2(2), 1993, 11.

20 *Gender and the Academic Climate at the University of Michigan*.

21 Orpha K. Duell, J. Douglas, Randy Elsworth Lynch, and Christopher A. Moore "Wait-time in College Classes Taken by Education Majors," *Research in Higher Education* 33(4), 1992, 483-495.

22 Wilbert J. McKeachie, with chapters by Nancy Chism, Robert Menges, Marilla Svinicki and Clair Ellen Weinstein, *Teaching Tips: Strategies, Research, and Theory for College and University Teachers*, 9th ed. (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Company, 1994), 23-25.

23 McKeachie, *Teaching Tips*, 45.

24 Krupnick does this.

25 From Krupnick.

26 Richard J. Light, *The Harvard Assessment Seminars: Explorations with Students and Faculty About Teaching, Learning and Student Life* (Cambridge: Harvard University Graduate School of Education, 1990), 326.

27 Johnson et al., *Cooperative Learning*, 100.

28 See, for example, David B. Pillemer, Martha L. Picariello, Anneliesa Beebe Law, and Jill S. Reichman, "Memories of College: The Importance of Specific Educational Episodes," *In Remembering Our Past: Studies in Autobiographical Memory* (New York: Cambridge University Press, in press 1996).

29 *Harvard Assessment Report* 1990, 31.

30 *Harvard Assessment Report* 1990, 40; 42.

31 Richard J. Light, *The Harvard Assessment Seminars, Second Report: Explorations with Students and Faculty About Teaching, Learning, and Student Life* (Cambridge: Harvard University Graduate School of Education, 1992), 38ff.

32 Joann Keyton, University of Memphis, participant in University of Memphis conference, "In the Classroom and Beyond: Race, Gender, Class, and the Curriculum in Higher Education," June 2-4, 1994.

33 Cooper and Mueck, "Student Involvement," 75.

34 Johnson et al., "Cooperative Learning," 116.

35 *Harvard Assessment Report*, 1992.

36 Conversation with Richard Light. Professor Harvey Cox has pioneered this method at Harvard University.

37 Cooper and Mueck, "Student Involvement," 72.

38 Johnson et al., *Cooperative Learning*, 88-89.

39 Johnson et al., *Cooperative Learning*, 91.

40 Johnson et al., *Cooperative Learning*, 70.

41 However, some teachers have found that when students choose the groups they are less likely to hold the professor accountable for their failures since the students chose their own peers.

42 Georgia NeSmith, SUNY-Brockport, October 26, 1993, on WMST-L (electronic mailing list).

43 Toni A. McNaron, "Mapping a Country: What Lesbian Students Want," in Pearson, Shavlik, and Touchton, eds. *Educating the Majority*, 102-113.

44 *Gender and Academic Climate at the University of Michigan*.

45 Remedial programs and services provided by the institution and aimed at special groups (such as older women who have been out of school and out of the workforce for a number of years) may continue. In some instances, all-female courses or programs may be justified when they exist to remedy the effects of past discrimination and are appropriately tailored to justify the all-female program or course. In those instances where this is not the case, men may not be excluded if they wish to participate, although a description of such a program or course might read, "This program is primarily aimed at women who have been out of the workforce and are returning to school. However, men who believe they could benefit from this service and wish to participate may do so."

46 Note that men cannot be excluded from such activities. See note 45.

47 Cones, Janha, and Noonan, "Exploring Racial Assumptions," in Cones, Janha, and Noonan, eds. *Teaching Minority Students*, 73-79.

48 See, for example, Patricia Hill Collins, "Black Feminist Thought," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 14, 1989, 745-773.

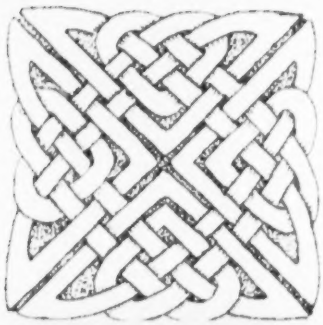
49 Sedlacek, "Teaching Minority Students," in Cones, Noonan, and Janha, eds. *Teaching Minority Students*, 39-50.

50 Some women may cry when they are upset or angry. Male students may be less likely to express their frustration directly to the professor but may express those feelings in other ways, such as by going out drinking with their buddies instead.

51 Statham et al., *Gender and University Teaching*; Basow, "Student Evaluations."

52 The letter technique was developed by Mary P. Rowe. See "Dealing with Sexual Harassment," *Harvard Business Review*, May-June 1981. Widely used to handle sexual harassment, it is also useful in other situations.

53 Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 prohibits schools from discriminating on the basis of sex.



RESOURCES

Some references fall into more than the one category in which we have listed them. The reader may find it helpful to peruse the entire resources list.

GENERAL

About Women on Campus, National Association for Women in Education. Published quarterly: $28 for institutions, $20 for individuals. Contact NAWE, 1325 18th Street NW, Suite 210, Washington, DC 20036-6511. 202-659-9330.

Canada, Katherine and Richard Pringle (1995). The Role of Gender in College Classroom Interactions: A Social Context Approach. *Sociology of Education* 68, 161-186.

Gabriel, Susan L. and Isaiah Smithson, eds. (1990). *Gender in the Classroom: Power and Pedagogy*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

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VIDEOS

Several videotapes, including two from Canada, have been produced for use with students or faculty to help them understand why the climate in college is often chilly for women.

- "Inequity in The Classroom" uses student testimonials, dramatized learning situations, and comments by experts to provide answers to questions about how to create an inclusive learning climate.

  The manual includes a training guide for a one-day workshop. Available in English and French, 28 minutes. Write to the Office on the Status of Women at Concordia University, K-103, 1455 de Maisonneuve, West, Montreal, Quebec, Canada H3G 1M8. The video and manual cost $40 each ($80 for both) plus $14 shipping and handling.

- "Breaking the Silence: Equity and Effectiveness in College Teaching" includes classroom situations which demonstrate classroom inequities. American University (DC) professors Myra and David Sadker discuss these behaviors, related research, and ways in which faculty can improve their teaching. The video costs $195 plus $5 for shipping and is available from NAK Production Associates, 4304 East West Hwy., Bethesda, MD 20814.

- "The Chilly Climate for Women in Colleges and Universities" uses interviews to examine subtle discriminatory practices which create a chilly climate for women employed on Canadian campuses. The narratives, which illuminate the cumulative effects of stereotyping, exclusion, isolation, devaluation and trivialization, harassment, and violence, are applicable to students at American universities.

  This provocative 28-minute video is accompanied by a manual which offers exercises for various target audiences, discusses how to handle difficulties faced by facilitators, and includes strategies and success stories from other institutions, along with statistics and resources. The exercises are designed for a 60 or 90 minute workshop.

  The video and manual are available for purchase ($300) or preview rental ($50) from the Department of Equity Services, University of Western Ontario, 295 Stevenson Lawson Building, London, Ontario, Canada N6A 5B8.

- "Peer Harassment" is a 15-minute video which shows typical campus incidents involving women students, followed by on-the-scene interviews with the students involved in the experiences so that a wide range of views are presented. The video can be used to educate staff and faculty as well as students and can be shown in settings such as orientation sessions, fraternities and sororities, and residence halls.

The video is accompanied by "Peer Harassment: Hassles for Women on Campus" by Jean O'Gorman Hughes and Bernice R. Sandler, the first report on campus peer harassment of women students. It describes various types of harassment and its impact, and offers a wide range of institutional strategies, programs, and policies. The video and the article cost $35 and are available from Instructional Technology, University of Maryland Baltimore County, Baltimore, MD 21228. (The article is available separately from the Center for Women Policy Studies, 2000 P Street, NW, Suite 508, Washington, DC 20036 for $7.50.)

- "Equity in Education: Gender Bias in the College Classroom" illustrates typical interactions that occur in undergraduate engineering classrooms and is particularly useful for college science teachers although the issues are relevant for all undergraduate courses. A facilitator's guide to accompany the video is also available. Contact the Center for Women in Engineering College of Engineering, University of California, Davis, CA 95616-5294.

ORGANIZATIONS, ASSOCIATIONS, AND CENTERS

Association for Women in Science
1522 K Street NW, Washington, DC 20005
202-408-0742

Center for Research on Women
University of Memphis, Memphis, TN 38152
901-678-2770

National Center for Curriculum Transformation Resources on Women
Institute for Teaching and Research on Women, Towson State University, Baltimore, MD 21204-7097
410-830-3944

National Women's Studies Association
7100 Baltimore Avenue, Suite 301, College Park, MD 20740
301-403-0525

National Association for Women in Education
1325 18th Street NW, Suite 210, Washington DC, 20036-6511
202-659-9330

Women's Studies Librarian
430 Memorial Library, 728 State Street, Madison, WI 53706
608-263-5754

Some of the associations for the disciplines offer materials on women's studies in their disciplines.

ELECTRONIC RESOURCES

Many university faculty have free access to e-mail and internet gateways. Some university computer centers offer training sessions and manuals on how to use these systems. If you have not already become acquainted, we encourage you to do so. There are numerous resources on line to assist faculty in interacting with colleagues regarding texts, teaching strategies, and model programs in general, and in finding sources of information on how to better engage female students through course materials and teaching strategies. For those who need a primer, we recommend Judith Hudson and Kathleen Turek's *Electronic Access to Research on Women: A Short Guide* (1994), which explains the basics of electronic mail, discussion groups, and listservs. Hudson and Turek's Guide also discusses numerical data sources, full text databases (such as the Women's Studies Database), both on-line and on CD, as well as bibliographic indexing and abstracting services devoted to research on women, FTP, and GOPHER. While it is not an exhaustive guide to electronic services, it lists many specific resources relating to women and provides some sample retrieval processes. Copies are available from: Institute for Research on Women, c/o Publications, SS341, SUNY at Albany, 1400 Washington Avenue, Albany, NY 12222. Send a check for $8 payable to the Research Foundation of SUNY to cover shipping and handling costs.

SUBSCRIBING TO ELECTRONIC MAILING LISTS

To subscribe, send an e-mail to the address listed. Leave the subject of the e-mail blank.

The text should read: **SUBSCRIBE [space] name of list [space] your full name**

ELECTRONIC MAILING LISTS

The following lists can provide information on women and the curriculum, gender analyses, and feminist pedagogy. They are identified by their internet address; most are accessible also by BITNET. See the computer experts at your own university for assistance. We have listed here only a sample of some resources available on line; instructions on how to retrieve a more comprehensive list of gender-related lists is available by signing on to WMST-L, which is included in the list below. Lists about gender issues in specific disciplines are also available.

CAMPCLIM: college campuses' personal, educational and physical environments.
(LISTSERV@UAFSYSB.UARK.EDU)

EDUCOM-W: a moderated discussion of technology and education issues that are of interest to women.
(LISTSERV@BITNIC.EDUCOM.ORG)

FEMAIL: moderated channel for feminist discussion.
(FEMAIL-REQUEST@LUCERNE.ENG.SUN.COM)

FIST: Feminism in/and Science and Technology.
(LISTSERV@DAWN.HAMPSHIRE.EDU)

GAYNET: focuses on gay and lesbian concerns on campus.
(GAYNET-REQUEST@ATHENA.MIT.EDU)

GENDER@RPIECS: Communication and gender.
(COMSERVE@VM.ECS.RPI.EDU)

GRANITE: aims to stimulate research in the field of gender and new information technologies.
(LISTSERV@NIC.SURFNET.NL)

LESAC: a list for bisexual and lesbian graduate students and faculty members.
(MAJORDOMO@VECTOR.CASTI.COM)

PROFEMEN: pro-feminist men's issues list whose purpose is "to provide a forum for discussion of issues pertaining to being men and being pro-feminist."
(LISTSERV@DAWN.HAMPSHIRE.EDU).

QUEER-STUDIES: Queer studies.
(QUEER-STUDIES-REQUEST@FERKEL.UCSB.EDU)

SASH: Sociologists Against Sexual Harassment.
(AZPXS@ASUVM.INRE.ASU.EDU)

WISENET: promotes women and girls of diverse backgrounds in science, mathematics and engineering.
(LISTSERV@UICVM.UIC.EDU)

WMST-L@UMDD: serves the academic and professional needs of teachers, researchers, students and/or program administrators involved in women's studies. Participants exchange information regarding teaching strategies, texts and films, research, funding sources, building women's studies majors, minors, and graduate programs, conferences, calls for papers, job opportunities, and publications.
(LISTSERV@UMDD.UMD.EDU.)

WE VALUE YOUR OPINION.

PLEASE TAKE A FEW MINUTES TO COMPLETE THIS EVALUATION FORM AND SEND IT TO US.

EVALUATION FORM

1. What is your primary identification? (Check one)

a. ☐ College president or other administrator

Title.....

b. ☐ College faculty member, lecturer, professor

c. ☐ College student

d. ☐ Elementary or secondary school teacher or administrator

e. ☐ State or local education agency employee

f. ☐ Federal employee

g. ☐ Other. Please specify:.....

.....

2. Are you: (Check all that apply)

a. ☐ Directly involved in faculty development programs

b. ☐ Member of a curriculum or women's studies committee

c. ☐ Member of a faculty evaluation committee

d. ☐ An affirmative action officer or Title IX coordinator

e. ☐ At a women's college

f. ☐ Member of a *campus* committee on women, women's center, or women's group

g. ☐ Member of a *noncampus* women's group, such as NOW, National Association for Women in Education

h. ☐ Member of a women's professional society or women's caucus or committee of an academic discipline

3. If you are currently at a postsecondary institution, check:

a. ☐ public or ☐ private

b. ☐ university
☐ other 4-year college
☐ 2-year college
☐ proprietary school

c. Enrollment: ☐ under 1,000 ☐ 1,000 to 5,000
☐ 5,001 to 10,000 ☐ over 10,000

d. In which state?.....

4. Do you think this is a useful report?

YES (Respond to ALL reasons that apply)

1. ☐ To EVALUATE OR CHANGE POLICIES, such as.....

.....

2. ☐ To START NEW PROGRAMS OR EFFORTS to improve teaching, such as.....

.....

3. ☐ To REDESIGN OR IMPROVE EXISTING PROGRAMS OR SERVICES, such as faculty development

.....

.....

4. ☐ To IDENTIFY NEW RESOURCES

5. ☐ To IMPROVE EVALUATION of faculty by.....

.....

6. ☐ To INTEGRATE WOMEN into the curriculum

7. ☐ To EDUCATE OR INFORM OTHERS about the issues. Specify whom:.....

8. ☐ To EDUCATE MYSELF ABOUT THE ISSUES

9. ☐ OTHER. Please specify:.....

.....

NO, this paper is not useful because.....

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Continued

5. What, if any, important omissions are there? (Respond to ALL that apply)

a. ☐ NONE. It covered all aspects of the topic well.

b. ☐ ISSUES should be described more fully.

Please describe:.....

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c. ☐ APPROACHES OR ALTERNATIVE REMEDIES were omitted. Please identify:.....

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d. ☐ IMPORTANT MODELS OR INNOVATIVE PROGRAMS were not mentioned. Please identify:

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e. ☐ KEY RESOURCES were not mentioned. Please identify:.....

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f. ☐ OTHER. Please describe any other omissions or suggested additions:.....

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6. Is the report clear, well organized, and easy to understand?

a. ☐ Yes

b. ☐ It could be improved by.....

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7. If you found factual errors or misleading statements, identify them by page number and provide the correct information, if possible. Use additional sheets of paper, if needed.

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8. Please provide other comments or criticisms. Use additional sheets of paper, if needed.

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For information about the National Association for Women in Education (NAWE), check here. ☐
(Be sure to provide your name and address below.)

Name: .....

Address: .....

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Return this form to:

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR WOMEN IN EDUCATION
1325 18th Street, NW, Suite 210, Washington, DC 20036-6511 / Phone: 202-659-9330 / Fax: 202-457-0946 / nawe@clark.net

A new look at how even the best of teachers—women and men—often treat male and female students differently, in ways that limit women's full participation in the classroom.

Men and women, sitting side by side in the classroom, often have very different experiences, because faculty members may unwittingly treat them differently.

Senior author **Bernice Sandler** notes that, "Women as well as men may often treat women in ways that not only discourage their classroom participation but also lessen their self-esteem and vocational aspirations."

Just how are women being treated differently? Teachers can inhibit women's full participation by such behaviors as:

- Doubting women's accomplishments, for example, attributing their achievements to "luck" or "affirmative action" but men's to "talent" or "ability."
- Responding more extensively to men's in-class comments with praise, criticism, or coaching but to women's with "uh-huh."
- Assuming that women who ask for help do not know the material but that men who ask are smart, inquisitive, and involved.
- Praising men for their work and abilities and women for their appearance.

This action-oriented new report—

- Describes **more than 50 ways men and women are treated differently in the classroom.**
- Examines **such key issues** as:
  - —The nature of today's college classroom
  - —How gender affects what goes on there
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Published by the National Association for Women in Education

Prepared with support from the Lilly Endowment and the Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education

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